

Treaty of Ghent

Lord Barnley: "Ways to Peace" . . . p. 5

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Our Pledge to the Unknown Warrior: "Never Again" MUST HIS SON NOW DIE AT POLAND'S CALL?

"Weep Not For
Me But For
Yourselves"
—by Arthur Wragg



They Talk of Commitments in Europe: What of the Vow We Made to the Dead?

IN Whitehall they are making plans to send the son of the Unknown Warrior to the shambles if Poland decides to fight Germany.

We must honour our pledges, they say. Let us take them at their word. At the end of the Great War, after more than a million men from Britain and the Empire had died, this nation vowed: "Never Again!"—and meant it.

Everyone knew that to allow such a crime to be committed again would be to betray the men who had died. "Never again" was more than a hope, more than a promise made for political purposes, it was a sacred vow. And today it is forgotten.

For reasons of power politics Britain has made military alliances, given promises. A sudden change in the European scene and the likelihood of having to make good those promises becomes immediate.

On Tuesday the Cabinet met, and it was announced that the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia "would in no way affect the Government's obligation to Poland which they have repeatedly stated in public and which they are determined to fulfil."

With one accord the press has taken up the cry. As it was during the War, so it is now, a press speaking with a single voice, to try to produce a united nation. And the voice they speak with says: "Our pledges must be honoured." Listen to the words they uttered on Wednesday.

"The Times," closest of all to Government circles, declared: "Great Britain . . . has taken her stand, and she will not now draw back . . . Where her pledge has been given she will, of course, redeem it if the call should come."

Labour's mouthpiece, the "Daily Herald," followed suit: ". . . one thing remains unaltered. That is the first pledge to come to the support of Poland in the event of an attack upon her integrity by Britain and France. That pledge was not and is not, conditional upon Russian support. It stands even if the hope of Russian support is withdrawn." So the official voice of the working-class movement declares in favour of war in certain circumstances—though all war means is the murder of workers by workers.

Then hear the voice of Lord Beaverbrook's "Daily Express"—that staunch advocate of isolation: "The guarantees which Britain and France gave to Poland were given in advance of the Russian talks. They are quite independent of any Russian alliance. These guarantees are still in force, and will be honoured. Having made up their minds to undertake these responsibilities, the British people are resolute and determined. There will be no going back."

But the most cynical of all must surely have been the "Daily Telegraph," which went so far as to recall the last great tragedy. Speaking of France and Great Britain, it declared: "We shall not desert those causes which we are ready to defend; and we shall prove ourselves together, if need be, not unworthy of them. Twenty-five years ago the French and British nations fought side by side, and they learnt in that grim experience to know each other's value as allies. What we learnt then has been confirmed by the years that have since passed; and as long as freedom has not perished from the earth that alliance, so soon perhaps to be tested again, will instinctively endure."

This alliance with France, this pledge to Poland, are treated as almost mystical unions—yet they are part of the same immoral system of power politics which produced the Great War. Twenty-five years ago the peoples of the world learned just how hideous could be the results of "honouring" such pledges; discovered that the reason for giving pledges and making alliances was not devotion to any ideal, but self-interest alone.

So they vowed, "Never Again!"

Are we to forget that vow, to ignore the lesson we had then? Shall the sons of the millions of unknown warriors also be crucified?

Join with those who say it shall not be!

End Power Politics and You'll End the "War of Nerves"

says Andrew Stewart

WHEN there is so much perplexity among those who are regarded as well-informed in international affairs it will not be expected of ordinary folk that they should be able to see clearly and at once what is afoot.

Dependent as we are, for our knowledge of the way things are going, on newspaper accounts and the indiscretions of statesmen, we can only share in the general bewilderment at the diplomatic revolution we have seen this week. After a week-end of foreboding—the leading articles on Monday were at their most apprehensive since last September—came the sensational announcement of the Russo-German pact, the recall of the Cabinet and the House, the repetition of our pledge to Poland, and the intimation of the Government's intention to seek for executive powers of so dictatorial a character that they can only be seen as part of a war situation.

Two Questions

TWO questions that I want answered are:

How long will the British people stand for this business of periodic crises and scares, each one of them made the pretext for further encroachments on their liberty, and for further sacrifices on their part, without any compensation in the form of some assurance that real peace is ahead?

And what is the task of the pacifist movement at the present time: the next

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A Pacifist Commentary

A Plan to End the Crisis . . . Would De Valera Mediate? . . . War is No Solution . . . Danger to Democracy from Within

By "Observer"

BY the time these notes are read seven of the smaller European States will have met in Brussels to review the international situation.

The Belgian Government has taken the initiative in summoning the conference, and invitations have been sent to Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Luxembourg. The precise terms of reference are not known at the moment of writing these remarks, although it is stated in the usual well-informed quarters that the two main items on the agenda will be:

1. An appeal for peace.

2. Gaining respect for the seven States' policy of neutrality and assuring the supply, in the event of a European war, of vital commodities.

Whatever the purpose of calling the countries together, or the ultimate outcome of their deliberations, one thing is certain: that they have been compelled, through desperation if nothing more, to get together and study just how far their common interests will be involved in the time of war.

I trust the appeal for peace will succeed, and that, should it fail to stem the rising tide, the countries which have failed to get together to safeguard the peace of the world will respect the integrity of those that have.

A Plan

WHY doesn't Poland herself suggest alternative proposals to Hitler's demands? Here are three suggestions which, though they are bristling with many local difficulties, would, if allowed to fructify, be infinitely better than a European war:

(a) Poland to allow the closing up of East Prussia with Germany proper, which would involve the handing over of Danzig to Germany, and would definitely close a Polish outlet direct into the Baltic. To offset this, Poland to enter into a reciprocal trade arrangement with Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, these three countries assuring Poland access to the coast. Commercial reciprocity on such a basis should not be impossible to devise, and all four countries would benefit in the long run.

(b) Germany to agree handing over Memel-land to Poland, plus a strip of East Prussia, thus forming another corridor, but this time as between Germany and Lithuania, which would give Poland a direct passage to the sea, in exchange for such territory as would allow East Prussia and Germany proper to be merged again.

(c) Poland to allow Germany to occupy a previously defined area which would link up East Prussia and Germany, as suggested under (a) and (b), and Russia to give Poland a corresponding strip which would allow Poland to run by Latvia and Estonia to the sea, slightly west of Leningrad.

Under all these proposals the populations of the parts to be ceded, either one way or the other, to have the right to a plebiscite in order to determine under which country they desire to live permanently.

No doubt the purists will find many flaws in these proposals, but they are honest attempts, after appreciating all their limitations, to offer constructive alternatives to a dilemma which may well appear by the time these comments are perused to offer nothing else but war itself. Therefore, I put these ideas forward for what they may be worth; they commit no-one.

The essential thing is that we should refuse to admit the war can be any solution at all. If only those concerned would recognize that fact, a solution would be immeasurably easier to reach.

Another Suggestion

HERE is another suggestion which may well be considered in conjunction with the foregoing ideas. I think Mr. de Valera should be asked to act as mediator in the present difficulties.

When the tension has been eased, as I believe it could be through the right approach, the Premier of Eire might get all the parties together to discuss the ways and means of preserving peace and laying

the foundations for general world stability.

He is in a unique position to act in this capacity. In the first place he is a man of considerable integrity, as even his bitterest opponents will concede, he is an experienced negotiator, having qualifications which very few statesmen today possess, a wide knowledge of academic jurisprudence. Further, the history of the struggle he has made to secure for Eire the right of self-determination should appeal to Germany and the other anti-Anglo French Powers.

I feel that de Valera is the man to prepare a scheme which if put to the test of practical application would be found workable. A gesture from him on these lines would do much to restore international confidence again. I should prefer to see him act in a private capacity.

How It Started

THE Danzig affair has provided yet another example of the way in which one war sows the seeds of another.

In Berlin last week it was stated that the German case was based on a Note transmitted to the German Government on November 5, 1918, by the American Secretary of State. The Note stated that the peace treaty which was to be drawn up after the Armistice would be based on Wilson's Fourteen Points.

Germany claims that this promise was broken—especially in the drawing up of the Danzig Statute, and that her claim is therefore quite legal.

There has since been some dispute about this point; but few will deny that the Versailles Treaty did not give full expression to the Fourteen Points.

Yet now we are told that we may have to face another war; what can we expect from such a war, but the creation of still more such problems? Even if war did not involve such colossal destruction of human lives and of property, on this ground alone it stands condemned.

This Socialism

WHEN the Trades Union Congress meet at Bridlington, Yorks, next month, the thirty-two members of the general council—the 'bishops' of the 5,000,000 affiliated trades unionists—will present a report showing that the hard feelings roused by the Government's compulsory service proposals have gone, and that the TUC now agree with the Government on defence questions." So said the *Daily Express* on Monday.

So the British labour movement has fallen into line and is quite ready to do its bit in preparing for war. Some of the early socialists must turn in their graves at such developments.

Last week there fell the 83rd anniversary of the birth of Keir Hardie, foremost among those pioneers. When the Great War was imminent he joined with Continental socialist leaders in initiating great anti-war demonstrations under the auspices of the International Socialist Bureau. Though Keir Hardie himself remained implacably opposed to the War, the international socialist movement did not.

Today, most labour movements do not even wait for war before they back the war preparations of their capitalist masters. In truth they are but "national socialist" movements.

Democracy?

FRENCH "democracy" goes from bad to worse. Not content with suppressing anti-war movements with a severity similar to that of a dictatorship, the French authorities are now trying to stop German propaganda material from reaching the public.

Pamphlets, leaflets, and news-letters giving German views on the Danzig ques-

tion are now being confiscated by the police. Last week it was reported that no fewer than 20,000 leaflets and pamphlets had been seized in ten days.

Whether or not the German propaganda is truthful is beside the point: democracy is in poor health indeed if it cannot permit the point of view of the other side even to be heard. Democracy in France, indeed, seems to be dying.

Let us beware, for similar symptoms are showing themselves in Britain.

The Emergency Powers Bill, which was to come before Parliament yesterday, is a glaring example, for it will give the Government practically a dictators' power.

Out of Date

A MONUMENT was unveiled near Mons last Sunday to commemorate the first British shot fired in Belgium in the Great War. A British General was present, as well as veterans of the regiment. Which all seems very pagan to me, particularly as it is twenty-five years since the actual event and as the world is perilously close to the brink of war.

By acts of this nature, national jealousies and hatreds are perpetuated; yet, if a new world order is to be contemplated, they should be treated as "antique ideas" of a past civilization. But still every soldier has to learn the traditional history of his regiment which, like the history taught in the average school, is very one-sided and far more concerned about "honours" won (there is seldom any reference made to those lost, or of tactical blunders made) on the field of "battle," than the social and economic struggles of the populace.

If human life is reckoned by such unsatisfactory standards, it is easy to understand how the military authorities can utterly disregard the sanctity of it for the purpose of war.

The mass mind which blindly follows an artificially created leadership, irrespective of the merit necessitating it, is to be deplored. Whether it is done in Germany or Britain, or any other country, through pageantry and in insidious ways like press propaganda, we say it is wrong, and echo with Shakespeare, "Vain pomp, and glory of this world, I hate ye."

Just an Opinion?

THE Jubilee Conference of the International Parliamentary Union, meeting in Oslo, on Saturday, passed unanimously this resolution:

"The International Parliamentary Union urges that every interested power should leave nothing undone to assure, in a spirit of justice and good will the respect and the independence of all nations, the settlement of international differences by peaceful means."

This was telegraphed to Herr Hitler and to the Soviet Union, as well as to the forty-two Governments represented in the Union. I hope the delegates will return to their respective countries and endeavour to see that these high-sounding sentiments are implemented by the various legislatures concerned. Otherwise it will remain one of the many pious expressions of opinion which are so easily passed at conferences without due regard to their full significance.

If the remaining democratic governments of the world had spent since the Great War half the thought and money they are now wasting on preparing for war, peace might have been much nearer than it would appear this week.

However, I refuse to be pessimistic just because most of the national press is; war is not necessarily inevitable, providing the capacity and willingness for peace is truly to be found among our statesmen, which from all sides, they constantly declare. There is still time to make a fresh attempt to build a warless world. The start must

be made today, because tomorrow may well be too late. Indeed, now is the time!

Ultior Motive

QUESTIONS set in recent examinations for commissions as Accountant Officer in the Royal Air Force assume a wide knowledge of modern literature, sociology, political economy, &c.

Candidates had to describe the merits of such writers as J. M. Barrie, Thomas Hardy, G. B. Shaw, J. B. Priestley and H. G. Wells. There was a question asking for a description and an account of the attitude of the British Government to the Spanish Civil War.

It is rather difficult to see just how examinations of this character are connected with the knowledge of accounts as they affect the Royal Air Force. Is it a subtle method to judge candidates' views, and whether they are such as would be likely, in the minds of the examiners, to undermine the British Constitution?

In any case, it seems to me to be wrong that knowledge of this sort should be required by candidates entering the Services, when the very maintenance of their efficiency would seem to be opposed to all that is culturally sound.

This commentary, in common with other contributions appearing in "Peace News," must not be assumed necessarily to represent the view of the Peace Pledge Union.

Doctors' Warning

A WARNING of the incalculable effects of war on children was made in a resolution adopted at one of a series of meetings of medical men just held in Edinburgh.

"For the first time in history," it declared, "the warfare of our day involves a great group which has no responsibility of decision, and upon which the results of sustained terror and violence cannot be foretold—the children."

"It is a sobering and should be a constraining thought in all countries that if the way of peace cannot be attained by the reason and good will of the adult populations of this day, it might be found more tragically in a common bond of life-long suffering among those multitudes of young survivors who would execrate, not only the leaders who had deliberately used violence to attain their ends, but also the generation which accepted violence as inevitable."

The resolution also pointed out that the responsibility for using war or the threat of war as a means of settling disputes rested ultimately with the peoples of the nations concerned. Although Governments must take final decisions, it was the people who placed and maintained their Government in authority. It was the people who bore the results of such decisions.

POWER OF THE STATE

"Suppose for a moment we grant this monstrous assumption that the State is a personality and possesses a will. What follows? That which is true of the State is true of any other association of human beings. If we are entitled to speak of the being and the personality of the State, why are we not entitled to speak of the being and personality of Church or Guild or Trade Union or club?"

"An individual joins of his own free will a large number of different organizations. The State is the only community to which he belongs involuntarily, not because he chose membership, but because of an accident of birth. We are pitchforked into our State whether we like it or not, just as we are pitchforked into our family, because we happen to be born in a certain bedroom."

"Not none of the other organizations to which the individual belongs has any necessary relation to the State. They are, indeed, indifferent to it. Some, for example, Trades Unions and clubs, fall within it; others, for example, the Roman Catholic Church or the various Workers' Internationals, cut right across its boundaries."

"Why, then, should it be assumed that if and when a conflict of claims arises, the individual shall automatically and necessarily give heed to those of the State?"

—Dr. C. E. M. Joad in *Reynolds News* on Sunday.

Campaign Against Australian National Register Continues

TRADE UNION LEADERS CALL OFF BOYCOTT UNDER PRESSURE

From Australian Correspondents

ALTHOUGH the boycott of the compulsory National Register by Australian trades unionists has been largely called off, a widespread campaign against the Register is continuing to win the support of people of all parties.

Trade union executives representing 500,000 unionists pledged themselves not to apply for registration under the Compulsory National Register Act; to refuse to pay fines and to institute a strike wherever trades unionists are imprisoned for refusal to fill in the register forms or to pay fines.

The penalty provided by the Act is a £50 fine or three months' imprisonment.

The official calling-off of the boycott followed lengthy negotiations between the Prime Minister, Mr. Menzies, and the political and industrial leaders of the Labour Party. It caused widespread disappointment among unionists who felt that the boycott was almost certain to wreck the whole scheme.

The very success of the boycott was, indeed, the reason why the political leaders of the Labour Party, fearing lest the Premier should force an election on the issue of the National Register, applied pressure on the industrial leaders.

"Development of Fascism"

The position of the industrial section of the party has been best expressed by Dr. Lloyd Ross, Secretary of the Australian Railways Union, who maintained that "there are some things more important than winning an election, resistance to conscription and the development of fascism, of which the National Register is the first instalment, is one of those things."

Although the Prime Minister, as a result of the discussions with the Labour leaders, has made the most solemn promises that the Register will not be used to implement either industrial or overseas military conscription, the industrial section of the Labour Party is insistent that "the politicians sold them down the river."

Meanwhile the campaign against the Register goes on. Already the miners have staged a one-day strike. Members of Parliament have been deluged with leaflets from their electors demanding that they work for the recall of the Register.

Many people feel, however, that the next step of the Government will be some form of military conscription for young men. This would have been put into action long ago but for the fact that large numbers of the voluntary militia are still without uniforms and instructors.

May Be Wrecked

The Register itself is likely to be wrecked, not only by the large numbers who are still boycotting it, but by the thousands of cards which have been sent in with false information.

Apart from the hundreds of "Prime Ministers" who have sent in registration cards, there has, according to *Smith's Weekly*, been "forwarded every day for weeks past thousands of returns made out in names of both fictitious and genuine men and filled with bogus information."

"The campaign has not been organized by any official industrial group or body. It has been the work of private wreckers. Between them they look like reducing Australia's National Register (cost £100,000) to practical negation."

Pacifist Activity

While the boycott and the campaign against the National Register cannot be regarded as showing the development of any widespread pacifist spirit in Australia, it does indicate how strong the resistance will be to the introduction of any form of conscription.

The campaign has offered opportunities for putting the pacifist position before the people and at a united rally where

speakers of the Labour and Communist Parties voiced their objections, the Secretary of the Australian Peace Pledge Union received a cordial and sympathetic hearing for his statement of the pacifist attitude of complete opposition to all preparation for war.

Before the boycott was called off, the Australian PPU co-operated with the Trades and Labour Council in opposition to the Register. The advice it gave to its own members was to co-operate with their trades union, wherever possible, but where a trades union boycott did not exist, to fill in the cards and write on them a statement

How Psychologists Explain Man's Willingness to Go to War

IN my article in *Peace News* of July 14, entitled "Some Psychological Aspects of War," I sought to analyse the prevalent war hysteria and to show that it had certain strongly marked psychological roots.

While recognizing the political and economic causes of war, and particularly the importance of rival economic imperialisms, I showed that war-feeling is on the whole just as strong and perhaps stronger among those individuals and classes who are not directly concerned with the maintenance or the extension of this or that imperialism, but are in fact the victims of imperialism and would be better off economically and enjoy much greater security if imperialism was abolished altogether.

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Since these people are so anxious to prepare for a war which is demonstrably against their own material interests, it is evident that their behaviour is determined, at any rate in some measure, by non-material, i.e., psychological considerations. These psychological factors are mainly of two kinds.

First, there is the desire to find in war an opportunity for self-expression, physically, mentally or morally, which is denied to the majority of people by the conditions of modern civilized life. Second, there are certain hate and fear motives, deep in our nature, operating in our sub-conscious, but fastening themselves on to certain external objects—such as other nations, or their leaders, or other social classes, and producing a tendency to violent behaviour towards those nations, individuals or classes.

Let us examine these motives and see if we can find some way of dealing with them so that they do not become part of an irresistible drive to war.

Hatred of Hitler

THOSE who desire war for obvious political and economic ends—and who generally are astute enough to avoid for themselves the suffering and inconveni-

ence of fighting—know only too well how to play upon these feelings of their more simple-minded fellow men.

Take the "hatred of Hitler" which so many English people express and on account of which they are prepared to go to war and to inflict immeasurable suffering upon millions of men, women and children both of their own and other nations.

Why do they hate Hitler? They have never met him, they have no first-hand knowledge of him; in fact they know very little about him at all.

Whether his policy has improved social conditions in Germany they could not say. He is for them a sort of ogre—a fantastic impersonation of evil. And yet, if challenged as to what evil he had done them, they could give no answer, and would probably retort, "Look how he has treated the Jews."

Yet they could in most cases probably give little evidence of love of the Jews themselves, might even, if challenged, admit to a slight strain of anti-semitism in their own natures, and have certainly never thought of urging a war against the British Government for its new Palestine policy which is making it almost impossible for the Jews to find a home in Palestine. Nor are they in favour of a war against Poland, which has treated the Jews for a much longer period—quite as badly as Germany.

The fact is, though they will be loath to admit it, that Hitler is just a bogey for them, just a name around which centres a lot of suppressed hatred, and if a psychoanalyst were to start work on them he would probably soon find that this hatred could be traced back to their early childhood and had its origin in some infantile fury against the tyranny of an adult—perhaps a parent or guardian—who had thwarted a childish whim.

What Pay-Day Means to the Wives of

SAM, LUIGI, FRITZ and IVAN

INVESTIGATIONS carried out by the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States show that:

In the *United States*, an average hour's wage would buy 7.5 pounds of bread, 1.6 pounds of butter and 4.4 pairs of socks.

In *Italy*, the same amount of labour will buy 2.8 pounds of bread, .3 of a pound of butter, and only one sock.

In *Germany*, 2.5 pounds of bread, half a pound of butter, and 1.5 pairs of socks.

In *Russia*, it is 1.9 pounds of bread, .2 of a pound of butter, and one complete sock and the toe of another.

(Incidentally, the European democracies—Britain, France and Belgium—all have a purchasing power higher than that in the totalitarian nations, but lower than that of the United States.)

War Resisters' Work in Finland

The Finnish section of the War Resisters' International, formerly known as Finland's Unconditional Friends of Peace, has now reorganized under the name of the League of War Resisters.

The first group numbers 70. They are making Finland understand that anti-militarism involves personal refusal to undertake military service.

Meetings of two or three hundred people are frequently being held.

Their organ, *Sodanvastustaja*, is written, published and printed by Aarne Selinheimo on his own machine; 3,000 copies are usually circulated. Posters decorate Helsingfors and a big campaign is being organized against military conscription and the proposed fortifications in the Aaland Island.

(This is among the news of war resisters in other lands given in the current issue of *The War Resister*, published by the WRI, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.)

by
Harold Bing

It not being physically possible for the hatred to find its expression against that adult, it had been forced down into the sub-conscious to seek later expression against an individual who seemed to reproduce the characteristics of the hated adult. Thus the Hitler bogey may simply be the symbol of an infantile anti-father complex!

This may sound far-fetched, yet its truth is evident when one observes the behaviour of anyone who is challenged about his war-like hatred of Hitler or Mussolini or Germany, &c. The less he can give a reasoned justification of his hatred, the more furious (and abusive of the questioner) he becomes, thus showing that his conduct is quite irrational and its cause unknown to himself.

Panic in Britain

FEAR and hatred are closely allied. In fact we usually hate only those people we fear: we may despise others but not hate them.

There is no doubt that fear has taken hold of the people of this country in a fairly wholesale fashion in recent months. They have rushed hither and thither digging "funk-holes," putting up tin shelters, trying on gas masks and so on in a way that would probably cause considerable amusement to visitors from another planet. And, of course, other nations have been similarly employed.

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But very few of these people could give any satisfactory reason as to why there should be, or need be, a war. And, what is more, they would be highly indignant if one accused them of fear. If one suggested that they were afraid of suffering or of death, they would at once retort, "Of course not; do you think we are cowards? We're not afraid of anybody and we're ready to show Hitler and all the rest of them that we're not afraid!" But only fear can explain their behaviour.

And here again probably current political events—or rather the highly coloured and deliberately provocative account of them given by an interested press—is merely the occasion for the expression of

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R. H. Thouless Speaking Personally on Religion and Peace

The World is Now Ready for a Successor to Jesus and Buddha

IT was in the news recently that an English knight of socialist sympathies had left his money away from the British Empire and for the promotion of the Buddhist religion.

It is easier to understand why, at the present time, a man should be led to despair of Christianity than why he should hope for better things from Buddhism. The most aggressively imperialist Powers in the World at the present time are the Christian ones of Europe and the predominantly Buddhist one of Japan.

That this should be the case is a sad reminder of how little the development of religious organizations follows the principles laid down by their founders. Jesus taught that we should turn the other cheek and that the meek were blessed. The Christian nations have preferred a beatitude foreign to the thought of Christ: "Blessed are the truculent for they shall inherit the empire of the World." The Buddha taught more drastically that one should not take any life either of animals or of man, a precept which his Japanese followers seem to be following very imperfectly.

Christianity Never Tried

IT is often said in the pulpit that Christianity has not failed, but that it has never been tried. I suppose that what is meant is not that it has never been tried by individuals (which would be obviously untrue), but that it has never been tried by whole societies. This seems certainly to be true. It is probably true of all religions, and we may fairly say, in the same sense, that Buddhism has never been tried.

The fact that we make wars is only a particularly striking symptom of the fact that our social ideals are not those of Christianity. The whole of our competitive system, in which those are said to "make good" who manage to divert the largest share of available wealth into their own pockets is one which, whether it is right or wrong, is certainly alien to the spirit of the gospels.

It is also a system which leads not only to the unhappiness due to poverty but to a heavy burden of unhappiness and neurosis amongst those whose ambitions are stimulated by the system but are unsatisfied by it.

Christ taught his followers how they might attain peace of mind; so also did Buddha by a different method. Our non-Christian, non-Buddhist, competitive industrial system has given men neither peace of mind nor peace between nations. In truth these two gifts are closely bound together, and it is likely that we cannot have one without the other.

Humanized Warfare

IT would, of course, be wrong to suppose that the original principles of a religious leader are quite without influence on the religious institution afterwards founded in

his name. When the Emperor Asoka made Buddhism his state religion, he said, in words that still survive, that he did so as an act of reparation for a merciless war that he had carried on in the early years of his reign.

His adoption of the Buddhist faith meant rather more than that he had renounced imperialist ambitions after he had achieved them. It meant also that he was sorry for his past activities and intended to lead a pacific life for the future.

The Tibetans also, a race bent on external conquests until they embraced Buddhism about fifteen hundred years ago, settled down afterwards to a state of peace with their neighbours, very likely as a direct result of the mild teachings of their new religion. That robbery, violence and murder, survived in Tibet shows, however, that the pacific teachings of the Buddha did not penetrate the hearts of all its people.

The abandonment of aggressive warfare remains as a positive achievement here. One wishes that the same result might have been achieved in all Buddhist countries.

I do not know whether there has been any example of a country abandoning aggressiveness against other countries as a result of accepting Christianity. Undoubtedly many individuals have done so at all ages of Christianity, particularly in its early days. But it can be suggested that Christianity has humanized warfare. Perhaps it may fairly be claimed as a result of Christian principles that we do not any longer kill our prisoners in war.

Unfortunately modern invention and the increase of bitterness in modern political wars are rebarbarizing warfare faster than any religious principles can humanize it. There is, in any case, little to be gained by trying to humanize an activity which is barbaric in its essential nature. The abolition of warfare is the task of pacifism, not the improvement of its conditions.

A Buddhist Europe

UNFORTUNATELY, I have no money to leave for such a purpose, but I have often played with the idea that Europe

he says in this, the first of three articles.

"Speaking Personally" is an open forum for the free expression of opinion on topics of current interest.

Previous contributors have included Arthur Wragg, Laurence Housman, Lord Sanderson, Vera Brittain, John Middleton Murry, Max Plowman, Lord Ponsonby, Leonard Barnes, Richard Gregg, Rose Macaulay, Prof. G. E. G. Catlin, J. D. Beresford and Ethel Mannin.

might be made pacific by being converted to Buddhism. On the whole, I have decided that it is a forlorn hope. There seems no sufficient reason to suppose that Europe would succeed in learning from Buddhism what it had failed to learn from Christianity, or that Buddhism would succeed in doing in the West what it has not succeeded in doing in the East.

If men accepted the teaching of Christ or of Buddha, both national wars and the social injustice which arises from personal aggressiveness would cease. The teachings of both have become, in the countries of their adoption, so much conventionalized that they have lost their power to make radical changes in the societies which accept them.

The world is ripe for a religious teacher who will teach with the simplicity and directness of Jesus and the Buddha the old message that men must renounce the desire to dominate over other men. Let us hope that such a teacher will come before it is too late.

Where Diplomats Failed the People Succeeded

THE diplomats went to Ghent, they spent a good many months in more or less futile negotiations, and then by one of those curious and significant waves of feeling, of which we have so many examples in history, the public opinion of the two great countries took the business out of their hands, and said with authoritative and unmistakable emphasis, 'Peace must be made.' And peace was made.

"One of the most curious features of the Treaty of Ghent, which distinguishes it, I suppose, from most of the diplomatic instruments of history, is that it takes no account of any sort or kind, of any cause of quarrel which led up to the war... From the point of view of experts in diplomacy that is one of the worst examples of their art, for it absolutely ignores all the causes of difference which led to so much bloodshed and confusion. Yes, but judged by results, it is one of the most successful diplomatic instruments in the history of the world. For since the conclusion of the Treaty of Ghent, despite the diplomatists and the soldiers, and despite popular passions and misunderstandings, the peace then concluded has been uniformly consistently and unbrokenly maintained."

—Mr. Asquith at Anglo-American Peace Centenary before the War.

Bertrand Russell on the Evil of War

Writing in the New York Nation Bertrand Russell says:

"The one thing that seems quite beyond question is that the next great war, if the forces are at all evenly balanced, will destroy civilized life throughout Europe, leaving no possibility of any government except a military tyranny, because the universal destitution will promote brigandage and every kind of anarchic disorder. Populations maddened by hatred, terror and hunger will demand vengeance upon somebody, and will seize upon the nearest victims, who are likely to be those retaining most of the vanishing civilization. It is the horror of this prospect that is the basis of European pacifism."

Elsewhere Bertrand Russell has said: "Not a single one of the evils people wish to avoid by war is as great an evil as war itself."

"Peace-Making"

"Real pacifism is not simply saying 'No' to war but reaching out to other people, neighbours as well as nations, in Christ's way, trying to find and bring to life a spark of divinity which is in all, by indomitable trust and continued friendship, persisting even when let down, and being prepared ultimately to suffer rather than to inflict suffering or to limit friendship."

This is the wording of a new leaflet, copies of which (1s. per 100) are obtainable from Dr. C. E. M. Pugh, 19 Wellesley Road, Colchester.

American Writers' Pacifist Testimony

A QUESTIONNAIRE sent out to a number of advanced American poets and novelists by the New York Marxist quarterly, *Partisan Review*, embodies the following paragraph:—

"Have you considered the question of your attitude towards the possible entry of the United States into the next world war? What do you think the responsibilities of writers in general are when and if war comes?"

Two replies of particular interest to pacifists are those of Katherine Anne Porter and Henry Miller, which we reprint below:

Katherine Anne Porter

I AM a pacifist. I should like to say now, while there is still time and place to speak, without inviting immediate disaster (for I love life), to my mind the responsibility of the artist towards society is the plain and simple responsibility of any other human being, for I refuse to separate the artist from the human race: his prime responsibility "when and if war comes" is not to go mad.

Madness takes many subtle forms, it is the old deceiver. I would say, don't be betrayed into all the old outdated mistakes.

New Ideas, New Methods

If you are promised something new and blissful at the mere price of present violence under a new master, first examine these

terms carefully. New ideas call for new methods, the old flaying, drawing and quartering for the love of God and the King will not do.

If the method is the same, trust yourself, the idea is old, too. If you are required to kill someone today, on the promise of a political leader that someone else shall live in peace tomorrow, believe me, you are not only a double murderer, you are a suicide, too.

Henry Miller

AS to my attitude towards the possible entry of America into a world war—my decision on that subject was made ever since I became of age.

I refuse to go to war, whether for a just or an unjust cause. If that means being killed by the government advocating war, then I am willing to be killed.

It is possible that I might murder a man in anger; that would be an individual act for which I would assume full responsibility. Governments may go to war; individuals are not obliged to, unless they so choose.

I cannot say what the responsibilities of writers in general should be on this ques-

tion of making war, any more than I can say what should be the responsibilities of plumbers or bricklayers. To kill or not to kill, to defend oneself or not to defend oneself, are questions which each individual has to answer for himself, and which he will, according to his character and temperament.

Result of a Delusion

I see no problems confronting the world which might not be solved peaceably. There will be war as long as people believe in the superiority of force, which is a delusion.

I believe the most sane and practicable solution to the present impasse would be to scrap all forms of defence and expose ourselves absolutely to every risk.

* Katherine Anne Porter is the author of *Flowering Judas* and *Pale Horse, Pale Rider*. Henry Miller has written *Tropic of Cancer* and *Black Spring*.

A Sure Sign

"Is the world subject to the fatalities of evolution, from the first albuminous atom which coagulated into a cell, or is it ruled by an Intelligence? The more I see and the more I observe, the more does this Intelligence shine behind the mystery of things. I know that I shall not fail to be treated as an abominable 'final causer.' Little do I care! A sure sign of being right in the future is to be out of fashion in the present."

J. H. FABRE.

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Man's Willingness To Go to War

(Continued from page 3.)

suppressed fears which have lain a long time in their sub-conscious minds seeking a suitable outlet.

What We Can Do

MODERN psychology has shown that our behaviour is far more determined by these sub-conscious motives than by our reason.

Perhaps we cannot, for ourselves, do much to alter this. But at least we can, when we find ourselves getting emotionally worked up, ask ourselves calmly whether there is reasonable cause for our behaviour, and if there is not, then call a halt and try to look within ourselves for the cause of the disturbance rather than rush into denunciations of others and urge policies for their destruction.

So far as the new generation is concerned, parents and teachers—in fact all those who have to do with young children—must do everything possible to prevent the formation of these hate and fear complexes which can wreak such havoc later on.

★

And now let us turn to that other factor which makes men today desire war as an outlet for their energies.

This situation is a condemnation of our social system which does not provide opportunity for the constructive expression of creative energy.

There are so many real evils to be overcome: disease, poverty, ugliness and so on. If we could throw into these channels one half the energy we are now devoting to war preparation, we should have no time to think of war and no other nation would have occasion to fear us.

Generally one finds that those who have the least satisfying jobs are the readiest to welcome the idea of war. Teachers, artists, civil engineers, all these resent the idea of their all-absorbing work being interrupted and threatened by war preparation and war.

We must, therefore, seek to provide for every individual work—whether as a bread-and-butter occupation or as a leisure time pursuit—which makes the fullest demand upon his faculties. The drums will then sound (for him) in vain and the bugle indeed give an uncertain note.

Cause of Discontent

WHY is it that it seems impossible to give men and women such opportunities? Why is it that this feeling of "unwantedness," and widespread unemployment, are found among the wealthiest and most civilized nations and become less and less as one goes to the poorer and simpler people?

It is because in the more "advanced" communities, the means of wealth, that is, primarily, the land from which we must all ultimately derive our subsistence, are concentrated in even fewer and fewer hands, held out of use by exorbitant rents and men and women forced to be idle or to use their labours in work which does not satisfy them nor in many cases add to the real wealth of the community, because it is to the profit of the monopolists so to use them.

A country which has idle land and idle men side by side is bound to be in a state of psychological discontent and a ready prey to war propaganda. A country where the people have full access to the land can pursue its way peacefully, even though the apparent political threat to both may be equal.

★

A friend of mine recently returned from Denmark told me what a relief it was to be in that country where, although the Germans are in their very frontiers, the people are still pursuing their peaceful occupations and not getting worked up into a state of panic and fear.

In my previous article I referred to the fact that war preparation is desired by many of our people because it offers them work and wages. In a community which had the right to use its own soil, there would be no need for men and women to sell their labour for the making of the means of their own ultimate annihilation in order to gain tomorrow's daily bread.

The pacifist movement has as yet hardly become aware of the fundamental character of this question of the right to use the land.

THE EARL OF DARNLEY

is the author of this, the first of a series of two articles specially written for "Peace News." Lord Darnley's outspoken contributions to debates in the House of Lords on the international situation have been commended and quoted in "Peace News." He deals with

WAYS to PEACE

PERHAPS the greatest and most necessary preliminary in trying to find a solution for international crises is to see them in their simplest possible light.

This one, like most others before it, has been magnified and distorted and enlarged beyond any semblance of its true values, and should, I think, be reduced to its simple form as follows:

A nation, Germany, finds itself in a completely reduced state owing to having lost a war.

As is usual such a condition produces a saviour, and in this case Herr Hitler has risen from the lowly position of private in the army, to be the absolute despot, military and political, of his country. He has done so from sheer determination to raise his country, aided with intense patriotism, powers of organization, courage and ability.

He started with the idea that his country had been oppressed and robbed by other nations and as he progressed he developed also the idea that all other nations were hostile to his advances and his ideals, with the exception of Italy. And so Italy became his friend and helper, and conversely his bitterness towards the others increased.

A Dangerous Deadlock

AS his power increased he began to visualize the possibility of acquiring more territory for his country's good, mainly territory that had either previously belonged to the German Empire or which from its position threatened its future safety. And gradually this idea resolved itself into action, always undertaken from the same motive, safety and prosperity of Germany, lack of sympathetic support of the rest of the world.

As these acquisitions increased the rest of Europe grew alarmed, especially as Italy was following suit at their end, and began to form a counter coalition of nations, as well as arming themselves to stop this dangerous increase of German Power. And now the position is at a dangerous deadlock. One side says I will do what I like, don't interfere, the other "advance a yard and we shoot."

This, I think, is an absolutely plain and unvarnished statement of the simple framework of the crisis.

Result of Arms Race

IF this course was taken by individuals in a civilized country with a properly administered justice such as here in England, the judge would hear both sides and effect a compromise between them to give mutual satisfaction.

But between countries there is no judge, and so a crisis such as this has to go on, either to the bursting point of war or the *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole energy and finance of both sides being utilized for constructing such a barrier of arms that the ill-feeling is completely fenced in by a ring of gun muzzles, behind which both sides must glare at each other in chained futility for another generation.

This is what is now taking place. Germany and Italy are told if they advance another step, they will be prevented by force, and they say they will not be dictated to and will do what they wish. As neither side has announced any intention of giving way, this situation is likely to remain and intensify until the money of both sides is all spent on arms, and gradually if insensibly the minds of the ordinary citizens of both sides may be hypnotized into thinking that it is really a matter of life and death and from their innate patriotism are slowly made ready once again to fly at the throats of the supposed arch devils on the other side who threaten their lives and existence.

This manoeuvre is called on this side a peace front policy and on the other a natural desire for living room and natural existence.

Now before deciding that the methods taken for preventing a crisis are wrong let us examine the effects of the treatment given, and the supposed justification thereof.

To take the justification first. This side of the crisis has got it firmly fixed into their heads, that by presenting an ultimatum of counter force now they are stopping a much greater danger later on when Herr Hitler, by making himself still stronger as the result of new acquisitions, will certainly launch a wholesale attack on the property belonging to this side in the fulfilment of his idea of world domination.

If the position is examined more closely there would not appear any concrete evidence of this at all. Herr Hitler has said repeatedly that he only wants to make Germany into her old strong self and at the most to acquire territories that once belonged to the German Empire.

Further no sane man could today believe that he could conquer the world with the present power and efficiency of armaments and money and stores that could and would be arrayed against him, and no one could say Herr Hitler was mad in view of his exceptional achievements. This fear could quite sanely be boiled down to an accusation of having gone further than he intended and in good faith should have done, owing to fear of being prevented in his work for his country by supposed jealous and unhelpful countries.

Wasted Resources

BUT as it has been taken in the worst and most fearful way let us look at the results of the counter policy. All the money of both sides has been commandeered for making non-productive armament, and therefore is less available for the many urgent domestic problems for which it is so badly needed.

New nations who were peacefully pursuing their ordinary tasks have been stirred up to take one side or the other and live like the rest in an expectancy of war.

The press is full of exaggerated stories of new crises, new difficulties, new alarms, which drive everyone into a state of anxious restlessness.

Propaganda tries in vain to assert the absolute innocence and right of each side in turn and aids in the stirring up of ill-feeling for there is always a counter argument available.

The whole desire of the world for improvement and uplift is paralyzed, while governments yell "we are right" at each other with ever increasing bitterness.

What is Happening

SUGGESTION in an all-pervading form is gradually undermining the will to peace possessed by every individual separately and handing decision slowly to the uncertain temper of mass psychology.

Is not this all useless, futile and wrong? To prove that it is useless and wrong let us first go to history and see if this position is not similar to most of the previous anti-war positions. It will be found that nearly always, one nation has made a petty invasion or said and done something which a neighbour has resented, and refused to give way to an ultimatum. In most cases there has been much shorter ante-hostilities periods, which makes this case easier to solve.

If history be dispensed with a simple analogy of an ordinary human quarrel will give sufficient proof. No human quarrel has right entirely on one side, both sides

are partly right and partly wrong, and the only solution is a ventilation of the outstanding difficulties, either before a judge or some disinterested third party who can effect a compromise which not only causes peace but a peace accompanied by a release for ever of the supposed irritating causes.

Imagine what would be thought of a man who because of a petty boundary dispute with his neighbour, collected a lot of his friends and their families on his side and then tried to threaten his opponent that if he didn't give in he would come with his collection of men, women and children and murder all his opponents and their adherents.

And yet this is what is happening today, if you view it with the necessary simplicity.

Nations Should Forget

WHY is a solution impossible of achievement? What is holding everyone back and forcing the world into the old, old mistake of blood being the only remedy for international disputes?

The principal reasons are probably two forms of fear. The first is the fear of the supposed dominating or suppressing ideas in the minds of an adversary. The second the fear of being though weak and therefore being taken advantage of and in consequence possibly losing one's allies and friends.

The first is based on the permanent ideas on this side, that Germany always was and always will be a dangerous aggressor in Europe, and conversely in the German mind that England is a suppressor of other nations exemplified now by their supposed encirclement.

The second is based on our side by Germany having walked into Czecho-Slovakia after having agreed to respect its frontiers, and is aided by the pressure put on by neighbours to stand firm and give nothing.

But fear should not enter into the composition of any plan designed from courageous humane motives, and perhaps this argument could destroy both types. Nations' eyes, if desiring something permanent and beneficial, should be cast forward and not allowed to dwell on the mistakes and wrongs of the past. Any more than a man who has done wrong should spend the rest of his life wondering whether his sins will spoil his future. If he does he is ruining the lives of his family by refusing to plan for the future with courage.

The Sensible Course

IF nations' eyes followed this obviously sensible course and only considered a hopeful and progressive future, these fears would lose at least half their value.

The other half could be entirely suppressed if they would realize that States consist of millions of simple citizens who take no part in government and whom the State must serve equally to the service they expect to receive. And to serve them best they should not under any circumstances use their lives to back up their arguments with. They have no right whatsoever to do this except in the supreme necessity of invasion, and if they could only get this axiom into their heads the fears remaining would have to give way to constructive peaceful plans and nothing else could be considered.

This applies equally to the use of citizens' lives as buffers in a manoeuvre which although threatening is said to promise peace.

When the whole of Europe is under arms, the smallest spark quite unforeseeable could cause an explosion, and that chance should not rightly be taken. And moreover threats do not remove the desire for offensive action but tend to increase it. The present methods appear not only to have been proved useless by history and to show little signs of removing tension, but a greater likelihood of increasing it.

Copying the Dictators Is No Way to Peace

"GOOD old Halifax! Talking to Hitler in his own way." This is a remark I overheard recently, and there can be very little doubt that had the speaker been questioned he would have admitted that there was nothing he so much deplored as Hitler's way. Yet he rejoiced because our Foreign Secretary used it.

A recent letter in the *Daily Telegraph* advocated the inclusion of Mr. Winston Churchill in the Cabinet on the grounds that there was no man better fitted to "beat Hitler at his own game."

It seems that the people and the government of this country have no ideas of their own in regard to the burning issue of Peace or War.

If Hitler arms we arm; if Hitler increases his armaments we increase ours; if Hitler conducts his diplomatic negotiations through the medium of the public platform we make speeches at Hitler by the same means; if Hitler backs up his word by a show of armed force, we back up ours by flying our bombers over France; if Hitler regiments his people we depart from our ancient tradition of freedom and conscript our young men.

Step by step we have followed where the dictators have led. Statesmanship has become so bankrupt that "follow my leader" (or should we say Fuehrer?) has become the popular national pastime.

★

WE have, during the past five years, by this method of copying the dictators consistently played into the hands of the militarists abroad, and in spite of the promises of peace which war preparedness would bring us, we find ourselves today faced with the possibility of war at any moment.

It is easy to blame the Government, to declare that we have no say in the matter, that we are helpless followers in the game, but this is merely to shelve our responsibility. No government will go to war without the will of the people, and so long as there are in this country millions of people who still think of war in terms of "dying fighting," of "defending their homes" and of "standing up to the bully," just so long and no longer will the propaganda for an

An Anthology of Peace and War

Arranged by Vincent Long

Dick Sheppard

WE shall go on bumping from one catastrophe to another until Christ's Royal Way of loving mercy into penitence is attempted, and his way suggests that those who have been injured, cruelly and unjustly injured, should make the effort to forget their own wounds—their own offended dignity—their own lost status and prestige, and should pray for those who have hurt them.... "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

—Two Days Before.

Robert Burns

MANY and sharp the num'rous ills
Inwoven with our frame;
More pointed still we make ourselves
Regret, remorse, and shame.
And man, whose heaven-erected face
The smiles of love adorn—
Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn.

John Stuart Blackie

OUR daily talk is full of lies,
Dressing truth in strange disguise,
Some bred of the fumes of passion,
Some from servile gloss of fashion,
Some from swollen old tradition,
Some from fancy's airy vision,
Some from loose and vagrant eyes,
Some from hatred's fond dominion,
All from hasty crude opinion,
Careless to be wise.

—Day-book.

—says SYBIL MORRISON



"We have, during the past five years, by this method of copying the dictators consistently played into the hands of the militarists abroad, and in spite of the promises of peace which war preparedness would bring us, we find ourselves today faced with the possibility of war at any moment...."

armaments race be effective and the real causes be overlooked.

When people learn to think in terms of killing babies instead of dying fighting, of destroying homes instead of defending homes, of a fettered German people instead of a bully, then they will begin to seek a different way from the way of the dictator.

And it is that new way that it is the business of all of us to set forth clearly and to make known.

★

IT is equally easy to say that the only right way to defend our country is to remove the causes of possible aggression; it is not now so simple as that, and it may be said that Chamberlain tried this way at Munich that an attempt was made on that occasion to avert war by conciliation and the removal of grievances.

That war was averted is true, but that it was averted by an attempt to remove the causes is hardly true. What sort of conciliation is it that involves sacrificing another nation, that involves an exhortation to arm to the teeth against a nation with whose leader you have just signed a pact never again to go to war, and that contained in it no hint of the intentions of Great Britain, nor of our readiness to enter into negotiations on economic questions

with a view to concessions and sacrifices on our part?

It has been said that we cannot negotiate until confidence has been restored. But confidence will not be restored in a world bristling with arms. The time was never more ripe, simply because, at last, faced so nearly with the supreme disaster, even the dictators are hesitating to plunge their countries into the horror of a European war.

★

WHAT then are the steps we should take to resist the drift toward a war that no-one wants? The continuously reiterated statement of our determination to resist aggression at all costs, is, in fact, the line of least resistance. To take the first step forward on an entirely new and unknown path needs courage of a different order from the undoubted courage of the soldier, and a faith as great as the faith of the blind man, to whom Christ gave the finest and most coveted commendation of all: "Thy faith has made thee whole."

The man was blind, he could not see, but he knew the good. We, too, must know the good. Instead of meekly and feebly following in the footsteps of totalitarianism and saying: "we don't want war, but what can we do but this?" we must say to our Government in no uncertain voice: "Whatever we do, whatever we suffer, not this." The policy we should adopt must be one

of conciliation and concession; not concession to threats such as the concessions made at Munich, but planned concessions. We must declare in advance our intention to take the initiative in setting up an international inquiry commission to examine in detail the economic problems of the world, and at the same time we must testify to our readiness to abide by the decisions of an international tribunal as to the adjustment and the settlement of these problems at whatever cost to ourselves.

Pending the setting up of such a commission and tribunal Great Britain should show her good faith by opening the closed door of her Empire and by calling an immediate stop to the armaments race.

★

THAT there is no easy way out of the present impasse is obvious to all, and it is essential for the safety of humanity that the people of this country should rouse themselves from the apathetic following of militarists abroad and face the choice that is before them with as much courage and gallantry as they would, without any doubt, face war should it come.

This is a choice, not of expediency but of principle, not of two evils, but between good and evil. It is a far reaching fallacy that a choice may, in certain circumstances, be confined to one between two evils. It is a fact that there may be two evils from which it is possible to choose the one considered to be the lesser. But it is also a fact that there is always the ultimate choice of good. Good cannot be extinguished, though it may be hard to find, and it may not seem expedient materially to choose it.

The choice is not between war or Fascism. Either of these evils may be the result of following the present policy of force. But if we cease to regard these two possibilities as our only choice we shall see where the true issue lies.

The risks may be great, the sacrifices entailed may be great, but as we go forward in the knowledge of good, we may at last hear those triumphant words: "Go in peace, thy faith has made thee whole."

The world waits for that peace in which nations will be made whole. The choice is before us; let us stretch forth our hand in faith and take hold upon the good.

End Power Politics!

(continued from page 1)

step, as Lord Ponsonby recently expressed it in *Peace News*?

THE answer to the first question can only be given by the people themselves, and the pacifist movement is almost alone in giving advice that will enable them to answer sensibly.

What outrages are being committed in the name of the people at the present time! "They" wanted the guarantees to Poland and Rumania. "They" are unconcerned as to whether or not Russia is with us in this—even though Mr. Lloyd George has described the Peace Front policy as a trap if Russia is not on the side of their "democracies." "They" will proudly stand by the pledge they have given. So the newspapers chant in unholy harmony, from the *News Chronicle* on the Left to *The Times* on the Right.

While the truth is that "they" only dimly comprehend the power politics game that is being played in their name in Europe, "they" know nothing of the rancorous quarrels that for centuries have gone on over the very territories now again in dispute, and "they" know in their hearts that Danzig or the Corridor or even the integrity of Poland as a whole is not the real problem, a problem which war will never settle.

THE prime task of the pacifist movement at the moment seems to me to be the rousing of public opinion to the pass we have been brought by the incompetence of our rulers and by our own apathy. More than this we are powerless to achieve, but if we

achieve this there will be repercussions beyond anything we can imagine.

Let us organize emergency meetings all over the country, let us have special literature issued immediately, and let us have as the urgent theme of our campaign Britain's withdrawal from these ghastly commitments.

There is no dishonour in doing so. What dishonour there is, was in the giving of these pledges at all. Is there any dishonour in refusing to play our part, the people's part, in this ugly business?

Let us get our minds clear.

"Honouring our pledge to Poland"—when Poland calls for it, remember!—means the bombing of men women and children in Europe. Poland will not be saved; she will be overrun and perhaps partitioned in the first days of such a conflict. Nor will German fascism and militarism be destroyed, any more than they were by the last war. Nor will the deep-rooted economic and political sickness that is now erupting over Danzig be finally cured.

The national sovereignty of Poland is not worth one drop of one soldier's blood; nor is the national sovereignty of Germany, or France or Britain. That is the immediate, urgent message we must broadcast throughout the land.

THE second responsibility of the pacifist movement is to bind itself more closely together in comradeship and purpose. Whether war comes or not that need will remain. For merely to stave off catastrophe is not enough.

If we, and those not of our movement who think for the moment like us, succeed

in achieving yet another brief breathing space—and I am certain we will—we must be ready to use it more effectively than we did a year ago. The "war of nerves" is merely more subtle and prolonged in its work of demoralization than open conflict itself. The "war of nerves" must be ended.

How long can the people of Europe, bombarded daily with nerve-wrecking rumours, keep sane in what the *News Chronicle* describes as "a situation so tense that at any moment some fool with a machine-gun may precipitate a crisis and some bigger fool declare that national prestige has been fatally affronted" and so plunge a Continent into catastrophe?

I don't know.

But what I do is that there is only one way of salvation: and that is for us to contract out of the whole fatal business of power politics, with its imperialist exploitations, its ruinous armings and its deceitful and selfish angling for confederates.

If we gave this lead it might not necessarily be followed, but the abandonment by at least one civilized nation of such uncivilized behaviour would at least partly relieve the tension and strengthen the hands of those in other countries who want their own peoples to make a similar withdrawal.

The choice is clear.

Keep on playing the power politics game and you will be for all time entangled in the web of alliances and counter-alliances, daily subject to the shocks such as this week has brought, daily approaching nearer to totalitarianism and bankruptcy, until inevitable Nemesis overtakes you. Or get out of it all.

That is the only honest choice that the pacifist movement can place before the people of this country. Upon our success in persuading them to make a wise, though difficult, decision will certainly depend our continued sanity and survival.

Judge Corrects a Newspaper

THE chairman of the Bristol Tribunal, Judge Wethered, commented last week on a newspaper report in which he had been represented as saying that appeals could be based only upon religious or ethical emotions.

He wished to say that he did not use the word "emotions," which was quite wrong. He stated that objections must be based on religious or moral convictions, honestly held.

The newspaper report referred to would seem to have been that which appeared in "The Times."

The judge also paid a tribute to the local press for their exceedingly careful and accurate reports of previous sittings.

Protest at Tribunals' Decisions

THE No Conscription League and the South Wales Regional Council of Labour are concerned at the attitude adopted at some of the COs Tribunals.

The National Executive Committee has already protested in the following resolution:

"The Executive of the No Conscription League has considered reports of the proceedings of the Tribunals at Birmingham, Bristol and Cardiff under the Military Training Act. It draws attention to the fact that decisions appear to have been reached on the ground of the occupation of the applicant rather than on his convictions.

"If the applicant happened to be engaged in an occupation regarded as of national importance for war purposes, he was frequently exempted on condition that he remained in such work. If, on the other hand, he was engaged in an occupation which was not regarded as essential, the decision was generally to send him to a civilian training camp.

"If the exemption clauses in the Military Training Act had been based on occupation, such decisions might be justified, but they are based on the ground of conscientious objection to one form of service or another. The Act recognizes that there are men who conscientiously object to any form of conscripted service for the purpose of war organization, and the Executive of the N.C.L. submits that this provision should be carried out irrespective of the occupation of the applicant.

"In one case twins appeared before the Tribunal at Birmingham, holding identical views. One was exempted on condition that he remained in his present occupation, which was engineering, the second was ordered to go to a civilian training camp because he happened to be a shop assistant. Such a decision contravenes the purpose of the Act by making occupation rather than conscientious objection the deciding factor."

The South Wales Regional Council of Labour, following representations which have been made to it, has decided to send representatives to meetings of the South Wales Tribunal. These observers will report to the Council at its next meeting.

Future Tribunals

FUTURE meetings of the Tribunals for conscientious objectors under the Military Training Act, so far as they are known, will be:

SOUTH WALES. In Shire Hall, Carmarthen, on August 31 and September 1. (Sittings commence at 10.45 a.m.)

NORTHERN COUNTIES OF SCOTLAND. In the Court House, Inverness, on August 31, at 10.30 a.m.

SOUTH-WESTERN. In Bristol on September 12, 13 and 14, when it hopes to complete its work.

EAST ANGLIA. In Crown Court, Shire Hall, Cambridge, at 2 p.m. on September 14.

LONDON. On September 18 in West London County Court, 43 North End Road, Fulham.

Advisory Bureaux Corrections

We have been notified of several errors in the full list of Advisory Bureaux for Conscientious Objectors published on page 11 last week.

Manchester

Three names and addresses appeared for Manchester. We are told, however, that activities there have been concentrated in one committee, and all inquiries should be made to the secretary, A. J. Brayshaw, 11, Rowan Avenue, Whalley Range, Manchester 16.

Hornsey

Hornsey appeared twice in the list, but it should be pointed-out that there is only one Bureau there, and that Robert Avery, 160, Muswell Hill Road, London, N.10, and G. E. Turner, 6, Palace Court Gardens, London, N.10, are the joint secretaries.

Important New Decision by C.O.s' Tribunal

COMPLETE EXEMPTION FOR POLITICAL OBJECTOR AT BRISTOL

THE South-Western Tribunal for conscientious objectors under the Military Training Act met again in Bristol on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday last week. The South Wales Tribunal met in Cardiff on Monday.

The report of the Bristol Tribunal which we print below refers again to the fairness with which the tribunal is conducted; it also tells of an important decision in the case of an objector who said he would be prepared to fight in a "class war."

A list of the applicants dealt with by the Tribunal appears on page 12.

A report of the South Wales Tribunal will appear next week. (Last week we reported in error that this Tribunal had already met in Swansea).

Tribute to Careful Judgments

THE Bristol Tribunal has continued as it began—with careful, considered judgments in each case.

An observer testifies to the very able way in which some of the CO's explain their position, and the firmness with which they refuse work under the Ministry of Labour. When objectors to such work are asked for the reason, they explain that for them it is part and parcel of the Military Training Act—which the chairman of the Tribunal has himself admitted.

An important new ruling was given on Friday morning, when the Tribunal announced its decision in the case of an objector who had said he would be prepared to fight in a "class war." The CO's father said that, in addition to his political views, his son had held conscientious objections for a long time.

Chairman's Definition

Announcing the Tribunal's decision to place the applicant on the register of conscientious objectors unconditionally, Judge Wethered, the chairman, said:

"Although in this case the objection raised is largely a political one, we are of opinion that a political objection, if held with intense sincerity, may be a conscientious objection within the meaning of the Act.

"We find that the applicant's objection is an objection of this character. The applicant's objection is not to taking life, or to fighting or to combatant duties as such, but to being registered in the Military Training Register under the Military Training Act."

The chairman also read quotations from the Prime Minister's speech of May 4, which he considered as an important guide as to how the Government, and later the House of Commons, intended the Act to be administered.

C.O. Quoted Buddha

Another interesting case was that of a Gloucestershire CO who quoted a number of Eastern teachers in a letter setting forth his objections. The applicant had written: "As very few men living under the Western civilization possess the quality of peace, peace is not reflected in international affairs, for the affairs of nations are but the extension of individual actions."

He also quoted the words of Buddha: "He who wishes to attain to the joy of living in harmony with the universe shall deceive none, entertain no hatred for anybody, and never wish to injure through anger. He shall have measureless love for all creatures."

The chairman, who called the applicant's letter "a most marvellous piece of work," commented on the fact that Buddha had uttered the words quoted 500 years before Christ.

The applicant was registered as a CO unconditionally.

His Father Had Suffered

One very sad case on the Wednesday was that of a Portsmouth lad whose father had lost an arm in the War and was obviously still suffering from the horror of his experience.

As a result of his father's experience, the son hated the thought of war. He also suffered from chronic stomach trouble which a doctor had said might involve a serious operation. The lad was inarticulate before the Tribunal.

Not even this Tribunal will accept a plea unless it has a really convincing conscientious basis, and the applicant was placed on the register of CO's on condition that he attended a Ministry of Labour Camp, with the proviso that he be examined in order to discover whether or not he was suitable for heavy work.

In each case last week the decision of the Tribunal was accepted willingly, though in the case just mentioned, at least, there may be an appeal.

Analysis of Applicants

The Ministry of Labour has informed the local advisory bureau for CO's that their analysis of the decisions reached during all the sessions of the Bristol Tribunal so far is as follows:

Unconditional exemption	..	..	66
Conditional exemption	..	..	82
Military Register:			
Non-combatant	..	..	15
Combatant	..	..	3
			166

Of the conditional exemptions more than sixty were cases where applicants were told to remain in their present or similar employment, the remainder being sent to the civilian training camps.

The three "combatant" cases were really all "hardship" cases—or cases for appeal.

Have You Heard This One?

By Lord Ponsonby

I HAVE been asked several times to compile a companion volume to *Falsehood in War Time*, calling it "Falsehood in Peace Time." This manifestly would be too stiff a job. Others ask me if I have started collecting for the next war. It is true that, unlike the weeks before the last war, there has been for months past a pretty brisk output of lies, more especially from Dr. Goebbels' factory.

I have heard a story on this side which at first I believed. When I heard it a second time I thought it might be a coincidence. When I heard it a third time, with again different personalities and places, I began to wonder whether it was not on the same lines as the Belgian baby with its hands cut off.

I want to know if any of your readers have heard it. It is this:

A man (sometimes described as a Jew) managed to escape from Germany but left his (brother, son, friend, &c.) behind. He begged the Authorities to allow him to come over and sent money for all expenses. At last after some delay (the brother, son, friend, &c.) was sent—but in his coffin.

PLANS TO MEET THE CRISIS

AT a meeting at the Peckham Dick Sheppard Peace Centre on Tuesday evening the newly formed Immediate Peace Activity Group decided on action for the next few months.

Every effort and means of peaceful propaganda, orthodox and unorthodox, is to be used to draw public attention to the stupidity and evil of all war, and in particular of a war over Danzig or the Polish Corridor. Propaganda is to be as simple as possible.

It was felt that all pacifists should join in leading the millions of individuals in all parts of the country who at least don't want a war over Danzig.

Active work in connexion with blackouts, non-violent demonstration along the lines adopted by the unemployed, and a campaign for a world conference and complete disarmament are also contemplated.

Interested individuals should write to the Secretary, L. Hism, Dick Sheppard Peace Centre, 158 Queen's Road, S.E.15.

The next meeting of the group will be held on Tuesday (August 29) at 8 p.m. in the Dick Sheppard Centre, 158 Queen's Road, Peckham.



SHOE makers, electricians, moulders, tin-smiths, millers, tailors, jam boilers, tobacco workers, weavers, wood-workers . . . nearly sixty thousand of these employees will again draw their usual full trade-union wages at the end of this week—thanks to you.

They'll greet the coming week with a happiness which springs from an enviable sense of security, based on the knowledge that their working conditions are second to none and that their jobs are as secure as can be. All

this is thanks to you. Your support of C.W.S. products, which you buy regularly at your local Co-operative Society, ensures these things. Because the C.W.S. exists "To Serve, and not to extract profit from, the people."



CO-OPERATIVE PRESS AGENCY—R1690

L. B. PEKIN, in discussing Education and Peace, says

Take Care of the Citizen, and Society Will Take Care of Itself!

IT is always an amusing occupation—and sometimes a useful one—to observe current changes in the use of words. Often they are comparatively harmless; but occasionally they are subtle, subversive, and inimical to truth.

Thus, when *The Times* newspaper refers to the "education" of the public in civil defence, it is well for teachers, whose job education is, to protest in the name of the right use of words—that is, of truth. The word "education" in this connexion, has for some little while been creeping in; and it may have come to stay. But whatever education is, it is certainly not deliberate preparation for war; and it will be a pity if protests against the perversion of a word are not made continually, so long as men have the capacity and the opportunity to think.

The trouble is that though all teachers know what education is not—what, in fact, *The Times* says it is: preparation for war—they do not always know what it is. We must not only protest that education is preparation for peace, but we must know what we mean, and we must set about that preparation at once, all day and every day, with our children.

In a hundred years from now, Europe will be peopled from end to end with human beings not yet conceived; the potentialities of the society which they will form are almost infinite. In forty years from now, Europe will be organized by the children who are at present at school in ten thousand scattered villages and towns; what we are giving them, this very day, as precept and as example, is of profound importance for the future of the race.

We have got to become clear in our own minds what education for peace, or for good citizenship, means.

IT will be best, perhaps, to put forward suggestions in an oversimplified, and therefore provocative, manner. If they arouse disagreement, they will at least have stirred thought; and that is seldom a bad thing.

To begin with, then, education for citizenship does not mean preparing children to fit into some imagined society, however ideal; it is no good pinning the blue-prints of Utopia on the classroom wall, and training children to be at home in it.

Rather we must train the children to be good individuals, for good individuals automatically form a good society. Take care of the citizen, and the society will take care of itself.

We do not "join" a society, as one joins a club; it is the expression of the way in which we severally choose to live.

Reverence for personality is the one fundamental thing in education; where there is belief in a school "type," where there is exploitation of a child's lack of worldly experience, where rules are imposed from above, there is a bad school.

Probably no amount of education can increase intelligence—that is to say, native intellectual capacity; but it can increase the area over which intelligence can function effectively, by changing wrong feelings into right ones. It is wrong feelings that give rise to wrong ideas, which in their turn initiate wrong actions.

In the end, education is a matter of the emotions; and a child's emotions can develop healthily only when he is free and happy. This means that his education must provide, in Graham Wallis' phrase, "opportunity for continuous initiative."

The more a child's life is self-governed, the better; he has at least as much talent for organization as the adult, merely far less experience. The difference is great, of course, but nothing like so great as adults of an exploiting turn of nature like to suppose.

The only way to learn social morality is to practise it; and the moral life—the life of decisions voluntarily and consciously undertaken—should be begun as early as

possible. In most of our educational systems it is postponed to the day after the children leave school.

COMPETITION among children should be reduced to an absolute minimum.

It is a truism that the prevailing ethic in a child's upbringing will profoundly affect his adult attitude towards society; but oddly enough, parents and teachers forget this fact when they arrange the pursuit of knowledge (of all things!) on a competitive basis.

Some of them argue that competition in education is a necessary evil; it is no such thing, and may be conveniently jettisoned at any moment by anyone who has the initiative to do so.

National prestige, that morbid growth upon European society, is only competitive education writ large.

Actual education for peace is, in detail, a tricky business.

There are a few obvious things to avoid: history books that contain definite untruths, or even a wrong emphasis on military exploits; military or pseudo-military training—the latter including most forms of gangs, which many adults will have it that children enjoy; base appeals to the team spirit, and the whipping-up of emotional group loyalty; the conventional promotion of patriotism through ritual such as flag-waving and certain kinds of singing (how right Plato was about the moral force of music!).

On the positive side one must recommend

with caution. Direct contact with children of other countries is good; but it is by no means a panacea—to see a foreigner is not necessarily to like him.

Helping sufferers in other lands, materially, is better; it is well for children never to know of the horrors of the world, unless they can do something, however small, to right a wrong; and then they should always be told. Their pennies given to refugees are more important in the end, for the building of a peaceful world, than the deliberations of statesmen about minority problems.

DELIBERATELY to "make pacifists" of children is wrong, besides the fact that it defeats its own ends, as like as not.

The child who has been educated to rule himself, even if he ends as a militarist, will be essentially a more peaceful person, and a better citizen, than the child who has been early conditioned to be an impeccable little pacifist. The important thing is not that children should be pacifists, but that they should be integrated personalities—be whatever they are, whole-heartedly, and know what they are doing and why they are doing it.

Peace is not a trade to be learnt, but a by-product of good activities passionately pursued.

Pacifism in the Old Testament

THE Old Testament is a soldier's book, but it is a pacifist's book as well. True enough, it sings the praises of the Lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, it enjoins the extermination of the Canaanites, and even in the Psalms we hear of those Jewish Ironsides of old,

*The praises of God in their mouth,
And a two-edged sword in their hand;
To execute vengeance upon the nations,
And punishments upon the peoples;
To bind their kings with chains,
And their nobles with fetters of iron.*

Everyone who has spoken on a peace platform knows that there are people in most audiences to whom the problem is not, "Can we persuade Hitler to be reasonable?" but "Did not God Himself command the Israelites to make war?"

There are two ways of dealing with such difficulties.

The first is to tackle them piece-meal and try to find some means of explaining them away; the second, and the only satisfactory one, is to admit that such things did happen, that the Old Testament does definitely give war a divine sanction, but that all this is what men had to outgrow, the kind of thing, in fact, from which Jesus came to set us free.

Rightly understood, indeed, the Old Testament is the record of how men unlearned the thought of God as a God of war and were made ready for the Prince of Peace.

And there are occasions when the pacifist witness of the Old Testament becomes unmistakably clear; there are four instances at least in which the way of force, with all the apparent advantages it offered, was deliberately rejected by men who had seen that God has a better way for the nations.

IN 735 BC the little kingdom of Judah found itself confronted by an alliance of two powerful States, either of which was strong enough of itself to crush it.

Israel had made a pact with Syria, their armies were on the march, and they brought with them a nominee of their own

who was to be placed on the throne of Jerusalem as a puppet-king.

Panic seized court and people like; Ahaz offered his son as a sacrifice to appease the gods who had deserted him, and emptied his exchequer for a bribe to Assyria to intervene.

Against this background of fear and intrigue one figure rises unmoved; it is that of the prophet Isaiah. He bids the king put his trust, not in any foreign protector but in the God whose truth Israel is in the world to save; what are Syria and Israel but burnt-out torches, still smoking but with no flame that can do any harm?

By E. L. Allen

Years passed, and Isaiah's faith was put to a far sterner test. Ahaz had rejected his advice, and had been saved by Assyria; but as Isaiah had probably foreseen, once Assyria had established a claim on Judah, she would not relinquish it.

All that Ahaz had done was to remove the old menace to make way for a new one. So, under Hezekiah, Assyrian armies marched across Judah, subduing its fortresses as easily as a boy rifles a bird's nest, and closing in on the capital itself.

This time Isaiah's advice was taken; the nation waited in calm confidence the attack of the enemy—and Sennacherib's army melted away!

THE next story is a different one. This time there is no prophecy of divine deliverance, but the summons to the nation to accept what it has brought upon itself by political bad faith and social immorality.

Under the last king of Judah, Zedekiah (597—586 BC), old but foolish ambitions were revived, and the nation dreamed of again playing a part on the stage of world history.

Zedekiah himself had come to the throne after his overlord, the king of Babylon, had stamped out one revolt in Jerusalem, but he was one of those who learn nothing

Britain's Responsibility

"WE must ascertain what are the contributing factors to the present world situation, and it will be found that possibly the biggest contributor is this country and not Germany, for one of the most potent causes of world disorder has been our dominant financial policy."

—Ernest Bevin: Last day of Southport Labour Conference, this year.

Time You Paid Up!

BY now, those members of the Peace Pledge Union who can afford to do so should have bought one of the bricks (price 6d.) of which Dick Sheppard House, the new PPU headquarters, are built.

Laurence Housman pointed out, at the opening of Dick Sheppard House, that if each PPU member would "be a brick" and do this, the 124,000 bricks of which the house is built would be paid for.

So far, however, only about 1,000 members have done so and

up to Wednesday morning

14,767

bricks had been sponsored.

If you haven't sent your contribution yet, Mr. Frank B. Middleton, accountant of the PPU, will be glad to receive any further contributions at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Don't forget, also, that proceeds from the sale of photographs taken at the Harrogate conference are to go to the Brick Fund.

"Trusteeship"

"The rulers of the British Empire draw from the Colonies many millions a year (watch the company meetings page of *The Times*). They force the inhabitants to work for wages below subsistence level, uproot their economy, starve them, and then grant them—60 millions of them—£625,000 from the Colonial Development Fund. £625,000 to help over 60 million people. It works out at over 2d. per head. . . . The official technical term for this process is trusteeship."

—From an article on "Nutrition in the Colonies," in the September Empire: A Monthly Record, 3d. monthly from 126 Boundary Road, London, N.W.8.

from what their predecessors have suffered. He began to intrigue with Egypt for assistance in a war of independence and provoked in the end the destruction of the Jewish State by his folly.

In one man in the doomed city, however, he found an uncompromising opponent. In season and out of season, alike before the siege and during it, and always at the risk of his life, Jeremiah besought king and people to give up the mad game of power-politics, at which they could only play a losing hand, and be content with the place assigned to them as witnesses to a higher faith than the world about them knew.

He was what we should call a defeatist, for he did not hesitate to urge on individuals in the beleaguered city the duty of surrender. He saw that Judah could not be both politically and spiritually great, that if she was to serve mankind with truth she must give up all thought even of maintaining herself by arms.

It was a hard lesson, but in the weary years of the Exile there were many who understood at last that he was right.

BUT the supreme crisis in the history of the Jews was that which came upon them in the second century BC, when Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, resolved to stamp out the national characteristics and the religious faith of his troublesome Jewish subjects, and to assimilate them, as he had done so many others, to the totalitarian State he was bent on creating.

Driven to despair, there were those among them who took up arms for religion and liberty, and in Judas Maccabæus, one of the most romantic figures in history, they found a champion.

It was at this moment that the book of Daniel was written; it ranks still as one of the masterpieces of pacifist literature. The writer offers these stories of fidelity unto death to his contemporaries; they are to resist the paganism which is being forced upon them, but their resistance is to be that of the martyr, not that of the soldier.

They are to be like those three valiant young men who went into the furnace rather than worship an idol, or like Daniel when he refused, even under threat of a

(Continued on page 11.)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We have space for only a few of the letters we receive.
Other things being equal, letters of about 200 words
stand the best chance of publication.

Meeting Non-Pacifist Arguments

IN reply to Mr. Sparkes's letter, I must point out that I did not contend in my article that in answering arguments pacifists should assume the truth of all non-pacifist assumptions. My remarks were strictly limited to the non-pacifist argument with which I was then dealing—they were made simply because a pacifism based solely on its possible results cannot hope to be thoroughly convincing to a sincere and intelligent holder of this non-pacifist position.

I do not see why Mr. Sparkes should object to my distinction between moral and practical arguments. An argument based upon practical considerations may be reasonably called a practical one. True, the practical may be an expression of the moral. But a distinction between motive and act, cause and effect, is essential for clear thinking.

The fulfilment of the conditions I assumed as essential for the validity of Mr. Sparkes's argument is not, I suggest, as inevitable as he contends. "Inevitable" is a word difficult to justify under any circumstances.

It is not true to state that conscientious objectors in time of war will inevitably assume responsibility for the consequences of their actions. A negative decision not to fight does not necessarily mean that a person realizes the implications and consequences of his decision, is prepared to accept responsibility for such consequences, and has some constructive policy in mind. Even if—to adopt Mr. Sparkes's postulate—a good God exists, the consequent fact of free will means that he does not coerce individuals (even though they be pacifists) along definite lines of action.

Nor is the fulfilment of my second condition inevitable. For passive resistance to be effective, it is essential that the resisters be organized and disciplined; otherwise the resistance may fail. A refusal by individuals to kill at the behest of a British Government does not necessarily mean that these individuals are sufficiently organized and disciplined as a body to offer effective passive resistance to any invading victors.

If the two conditions are fulfilled, I agree that Mr. Sparkes's argument is a good one. I stated

so in my article, in which (as a pacifist myself) I indicated my belief that the non-pacifist argument can be adequately met from the moral and religious standpoints. My object has been simply to deal fairly with both pacifist and non-pacifist points of view.

JOHN J. RIMMER.
30 Bury Street, St. James's London, S.W.1.

The Labour Party

May I remind your correspondent, John T. Knights, that I made no reference to the Labour Party or, indeed, to any political party.

I quite agree that the Labour Party's support for the "National Service" schemes of our Ruling Class is a disgrace to their Socialist professions and a flagrant denial of the Brotherhood of Man.

George Lansbury, however, is quite able to reconcile his admittedly pure Socialism with membership of the Labour Party and it seems to me that pacifists can best make their influence felt by working within the ranks of the Labour Party and the ILP to which I, myself, am particularly attracted.

I am acquainted with the activities of the MP to which John Knights refers, but would say in extenuation that he is a comparatively recent "acquisition" to the Labour Party and in no way represents the views of the rank-and-file!

DAVID OULAGI.
Rosemary Cafe, High Street, Lee-on-Solent, Hants.

Acknowledgment

A very kind but unknown friend had learned that I had given up my employment, because it had developed into war work, and asked my acceptance of a generous gift. As it was sent anonymously I have no way of recording my gratitude, and in the circumstances I wonder whether you would be good enough to publish this brief acknowledgment in *Peace News*.

CHAS. A. EARL.
3 Molyneux Road, Farncombe, Surrey.

PACIFISTS AND THE NAZIS

ALL that is necessary to say about the alleged association of the Peace Pledge Union with The Link has, I think, been said, and so I intend to confine my observations to the following remarks:—

The PPU constitutes the only real opposition in this country to the Government's Foreign Policy; our activities have been referred to in both Houses of Parliament.

Because of this we must be prepared to face up to criticism and misrepresentation in the press and elsewhere, and I am surprised that we have not met more of it before.

The letter and statement issued by Stuart Morris subsequent to the publication of what was supposed to have been said at the famous "interview," have made it perfectly clear that he was speaking personally and not in his official capacity as Chairman of the PPU.

All members of the PPU are united in the pledge, but reserve the right to hold personal views on other matters, and therein lies our strength.

The PPU still stands for the renunciation of War and the maintenance of Truth, and I hope, Sir, that The Link will now be posted as "missing" and in future issues of *Peace News* we shall see letters of a more constructive nature.

CHARLES BALDWIN,
National Council, Chairman,
East Midlands Area Committee.
1, Woodville Drive, Sherwood, Nottingham.

A Fundamental Question

A line to express my hearty agreement with Andrew Stewart's editorial on this subject in *Peace News* of the 18th and my admiration for his clear-sighted exposition of the facts of the case and their implications.

This is indeed a fundamental question. However indefinable pacifism is, it surely is a movement of the Left and can have no association with the extreme Right. The last two sections of the editorial seem to me to be of particular importance.

It is to be hoped that pacifist leaders who are members of The Link will realize that it is either The Link or the PPU but cannot be both.

C. G. JERMEY.
5 Wilmot Road, Tottenham, N.17.

Keep Out of Parties

The editorial by Andrew Stewart has brought vividly to my thoughts again the whole question of how and where can a member of PPU remain a member of any of our political parties. Only those who try to mix PPU and BUF are singled out by Andrew Stewart, but I think the policies of all other parties are difficult as political foundation for the pacifist.

For illustration let us look at two other items in the same issue of *Peace News* (11.8.39), pages 7 and 11.

I am in almost complete agreement with John Hoyland's programme for electors (page 7). It is necessary to say "almost" because I would at least hesitate about the paragraphs dealing with "Federation of democratic nations." Does any-

one think it really easy or consistent to insert in such an election address the passages which the Labour Party insisted should be put in the address of Frank R. Hancock (p. 11, col. 4)?

The time is not yet for a pacifist political party, but now is the time to let the existing political parties know that they can no longer expect the support of PPU members.

There is need for the pacifist movement to have a constructive programme to put before the people. This need will not be satisfied so long as so many of our leaders and rank and file are prepared to say, "Politicians, we will put up with your general programme, but we will not support you in one of its major fruits—war."

The pacifist must learn how to say "pacifism means a new order of society in which all mankind can enjoy the bountiful supplies ready to give a full life." He must also learn how he can help mankind to achieve this ideal. He will not so learn until he throws away the rotten leaning props of the party politician.

CHAS. H. HAWORTH.
18, Victoria Park Square,
Bethnal Green, E.2.

The Issue

The important question is not whether the Peace Pledge Union chairman's view on current policy, as reported in the *News Chronicle*, was representative of pacifist opinion, but whether, qua pacifist, he ought to have any opinion at all. That is the fundamental issue which the PPU must thrash out sooner or later if it is to make an effective stand for Pacifism.

The issue may be more forcefully put: Do we think pacifism provides us with a policy which can be effectively applied here and now to solve the crisis? Or must we admit that pacifism is a long term view which cannot be applied effectively until certain hard-to-be-won conditions have been attained?

I hold that clear thinking will compel us to take the latter view, that pacifism is not practical politics here and now any more than the teaching of Socrates and Jesus was directly applicable to the problems of Greece and Rome.

For pacifism is not merely a negative attitude. It requires weapons even more potent than those of our opponents. As the PPU has insisted time and again, it is not enough to refuse military service. Refusal to fight, propaganda against militarism, personal example in our private lives—all this is essential; but it is not enough. We've got to be prepared, as our opponents are prepared, to fight. We've got to forge our weapon to win the victory for Peace. We've got to train an army of passive resisters—an army which would break any attempt to take away our liberties. Nor have we to contend for our own liberties merely. We must be prepared to aid also any victims of aggression.

Until we have forged this indispensable weapon of pacifism, we cannot presume, qua pacifists, to formulate a policy for the present crisis. Not to recognize this limitation of our creed leads inevitably to shallow thinking and the shirking of facts. Is not this already happening?

The motive for this wishful thinking is admirable. Pacifist apologists for Nazi-ism want to make their contribution to the serious problems of today; they are all eagerness to apply

Ethel Mannin and the Jews

THAT I should be charged with pro-Fascism and anti-Semitism as a result of my articles I fully expected. It can hardly matter. I have already made my protest against the indiscriminate use of such expressions nowadays. Regarding myself, various Jewish refugees and numerous Jewish friends know better.

I am concerned primarily to correct one or two misunderstandings.

(1) I do not and never have supported "the Nazi contention that Jews are the root cause of capitalist-imperialist greed." A capitalist is always, necessarily, a menace to peace, but in these days especially so when he happens to be Jewish—that is to say with not merely his capitalist interests to protect through Imperialist war, but with all the bitterness of his persecuted race in his heart. If I were Jewish, particularly if I were a Jewish capitalist, I also should probably support a "just" war to smash Hitler and the regime that persecuted and hounded my people. It would be a mistaken attitude but an understandable one.

(2) I do not and never have "glossed over the Hitler system for Jewish extermination." I abominate Hitler's treatment of the Jews. I merely protest against the concentration on Nazi atrocities and the appalling indifference to what is going on in the British Empire and Palestine at the same time—and not merely indifference to sufferings inflicted, but denials in the House of Commons that they ever happen. Whereas every Nazi atrocity story is accepted without question.

(3) I also am opposed to Nazi tyranny, but regard it as the lesser evil when it is a choice between it and a world-war.

(4) The benefit to the Jews of a war with Germany would be the liberation of their race from persecution. It would probably, as Mr. Solomon Denenberg suggests, mean the murder of the rest of the Jews left in "Greater Germany," but this would hardly mean the extermination of the entire Jewish race.

(5) I find myself unable to accept the sweeping statement that "the press in England is in no way either directly or indirectly influenced by the Jews." Would Mr. Denenberg, for example, say that there is no Jewish financial interest in the *Daily Herald*? That there is no Jewish money in the hundreds of thousands of pounds spent per annum in the advertising columns of the popular press?

(6) Finally, I have never suggested that "evil influences are peculiarly Jewish." But it seems, alas, that in these days any criticism of the Jews, or any line of thought which happens to coincide with Fascist ideas, makes one "anti-Semitic" and "pro-Fascist."

I can only repeat that the trouble with most pacifists is that they do not like being made to think. It is more than a pity. It is a tragedy.

ETHEL MANNIN.

I WAS in prison in Germany from the 10th to the 18th November, 1938, and owing to a wonder I was not taken to the concentration camp. The War Resisters' International helped me to come over to this country. I am Jewish by birth.

The Nazis did not torture me to death but what Miss Mannin wrote in *Peace News* of August 11, killed me mentally. I am deeply ashamed that you should publish this article which soiled the cause of Peace and the WRI and Dick Sheppard. I am paralysed by Ethel Mannin's article and unable physically to stir my tongue for my cause, the cause of the WRI.

If Miss Mannin was able to hear with her ears, see with her eyes, to feel with her nerves and heart I would make the tens of thousands of tortured Jews march past her to shout into her ears the cries of suffering and those of their wives and mothers, to point out to her the hurts and injuries afflicted on them, to live the days and nights at Dachau and Buchenwald, or to stay amongst those cargoes of "pleasure" cruisers on the boats which try to land illegal immigrants to Palestine, and so on.

But would Miss Mannin then believe in Nazi atrocity stories? Would she then give credit to alleged Nazi brutality?

Miss Mannin with her insane anti-Semitism should go to another platform than *Peace News*.
L.

London.

May I—against the apparent trend of readers' opinions—express my strong appreciation of, and general agreement with, Ethel Mannin's series of articles in "Speaking Personally."

I applaud particularly her debunking of stampede words like "fascism" and the way she gets behind such "scapegoats" and down to the real evils of the hidden "dictatorship" of international finance and vested interest that dominates so-called "democracy" and exploits it for its own corrupt ends.

One need not be intrinsically anti-Semitic, nor approve of brutal Jew-baiting, because one recognizes that Jewish influence (being that of an otherwise dispossessed and denationalised people) has, in some respects, become closely bound up with that of the international, war-provoking money-power.

I would differ from Ethel Mannin only on one slight qualifying point—that true British trade would not be threatened by German expansion in Eastern Europe. The whole of Britain and the malnourished British Empire waits to provide a profitable market. Only the vested interests of international finance, which want to trade through Britain in vast money loans and usurious debts instead of in honest goods, would be seriously threatened. It is in defence of these interests, not Polish or any other democracy, that British lives and blood have been pledged.

I agree with Ethel Mannin that it is time the Peace Movement (without abating one jot of its 100 percent pacifism) should become more than a mobilizer of nebulous and ineffectual—because unfocused—pacifist sentiment, and, seriously, begin to think. That may mean thinking across rather than along the various beaten tracks, ruts and grooves which too many pacifists just mechanically take for granted. Such thinking may call for acutely conscious effort and untiring intelligence. But in providing an example of it Ethel Mannin expresses a real passion for Peace.

DION BYNGHAM.

Post Office, Dartington, South Devon.

When I read Ethel Mannin's third article I mentally threw my hat in the air and gave three cheers. Here at last was an article expressing brilliantly, crudely and honestly what I had for a long time been convinced of about Pacifism. Here was somebody with a determined purpose and passionate pen who cut through all the muddle-headed thinking and saw the issue clear-cut. This article seemed to me to point with unerring accuracy the weakness of so much pacifist writing and so much more pacifist thought.

I am constantly appalled at the attitude of those of my fellow pacifists who fail to work out the full implications of their pacifism. They do not realize that a hatred of war and a refusal to fight are only part of their job, almost incidental, and that their real task is the day-to-day struggle against the capitalist-imperialist system which is the root cause of war. I have heard these "purely personal pacifists" make statements which have made my flesh creep and my hair stand on end. They seem to want Peace plus imperialism, a filleted and benevolent imperialism maybe but still imperialism, and this "purely personal pacifism" to me implies being a pacifist in a vacuum, untouched by such an evil thing as politics.

My pacifism does not exist apart from such realities and I really tremble for the future of the PPU when articles such as Miss Mannin's raise such a storm of protest. To me these articles (particularly the last) came as an inspiration and a tonic. Please may we have more of them.

GEOFFREY NORMAN.

24 Frankland Close, Croyley Green, Herts.

In my opinion the articles by Ethel Mannin in *Peace News* are valueless to the cause of Peace. Her uncalled for attacks on the Jews are abominable and quite unworthy of space in the Rev. Dick Sheppard's paper.

J. F. HUBERT.

Grayswood, Sandown Road, Shanklin, I.O.W.

The War Resister

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WRITE FOR OTHER LITERATURE
AND INFORMATION OF THE WORK.

An Opportunity

Provided membership of The Link involves only a desire for better understanding and friendship with Germany, I still think the presence of PPU members in the society is all to the good. Is not today's tragedy that we cannot get through to Nazi Germany? If it were possible should we not be sending speakers there?

Then why not use this opportunity to tell the members of The Link, be they Nazi or pro-Nazi, of the PPU and all that it stands for and perhaps through them reaching Germany?

This being so, I fail to see why membership of The Link by a PPU member should embarrass or do disservice to the PPU. Surely it is logical that the pacifist should wish to spread pacifism, especially to those whose views today are so anti-pacifist.

PHYLLIS ELLIS.

Homestead, Peacehaven.

"Peace Be With You!"

writes **JOHN BARCLAY**
from a bungalow in Jersey

IT only needs the Walrus and the Carpenter to complete the picture as I write. Miles of sandy beach and a blazing sun—enough to make anybody laugh for sheer joy. Peace at last—and no telephone to disturb it. Sitting in a deck-chair wondering what last-minute scare was helping to sell the London evening papers. I read in a local weekly paper, *The Jersey Critic*, the following words: "I have received a copy of the *Peace Service Handbook* issued by the Peace Pledge Union. I don't agree with the ideas or policy of the Union. &c., &c. And then follows an extract of nearly 800 words from the Handbook quoted without comment. As this appears on the first page of a weekly paper having a circulation of 3,000 or more at a time when it will be read by holiday makers in their hundreds—it looks as if "permeation" has begun in Jersey!

My copy of *Peace News* has just reached me by air. I have read most carefully the

article by Andrew Stewart on The Link controversy. I am glad that the whole matter has been given the widest possible publicity—but hope that no more valuable time and space will be devoted to it.

Our task is to forge the link that will unite us to all peoples—be they German or Russian, Christian or Jew. *Friendship* is our talisman. We cannot support a movement which does not accept this as fundamental. I do not believe The Link can pass this test since it is apparent that anti-Semitism is implicit in the faith of those who sponsor it to Germany.

On August 23 I am meeting the members of the local group in St. Helier. I shall try and pass on to them the sense of unity we experienced at the conference in Harrogate, and perhaps be able to help them in following up the lead given them by Stuart Morris last October when he visited the Island.

I find they are still thrilled by the magnificent sermons he preached that weekend—the first to an Anglican and the second to a Methodist congregation—both churches being crowded to hear him. I hope I shall be able to persuade him to come over here again!

Meantime for me and my family sunbathing and wrestling with Atlantic breakers is the order of the day. The weather is perfect and we are too far away from shops to make it possible to get the newspapers. So Peace be with you!

Publicity Van's Programme

The Peace Pledge Union Publicity Van will be carrying out the following itinerary from tomorrow (Saturday) until Thursday, August 31:

Saturday (Tomorrow): Scunthorpe and district.
Sunday: Lincoln and district.
Monday: Skegness, Sutton, Mablethorpe and Louth.
Tuesday: Market Rasen, Brigg and Caistor.
Wednesday: Newark-on-Trent and district.
Thursday: Grantham and district.

The Basque Children SOME SPANISH NICKNAMES

By Theo Wills

THE commonest Basque diminutive suffix of endearment is "chu," "Celia" becomes "Celichu," "Maria Angeles," "Marichu," "Victor," "Victorchu." Our two babies call their mother "Machu," their way of saying "Amachu," the Basque for "Mummy." Almost as common a suffix is "ucha" by which Berta becomes "Bertucha," and if you wish to refer affectionately to someone's face you can use the Spanish word "cara" (face) in the form "carucha."

These are Basque variations. Spanish is notorious for the multiplicity and subtlety of its suffixes. You can inform a person in Spanish whether you like him or not just by the suffix you use.

For instance, "hombrecito" can mean jolly little fellow, while "hombrucho" means clumsy brute, both being formed on the same base, "hombre," "man." With a few Spanish suffixes most English people are familiar, for instance "ita" as in "Juanita" and "Rosita."

These terminations are much used in Basque House, as well as more extensive modifications of the root word, "Theo" for example becoming "Theen," and "Magdalena," "Maleyn." Most varied and amusing of all are the nicknames which Spanish children are as ingenious as all other children in inventing.

A superb example of progression from sublime to ridiculous is the case of Nati. Like the majority of Spanish children she has a very religious name, "Natividad," or "Nativity." This soon becomes "Nati," and then by the addition of the frequent suffix "illa" you get "Natilla," her nickname, which means "custard."

It is a relief too, to find that you have not to say "Jesus" in the English way every time you address our boy of that name, but that "Hesus" approximates to the Spanish pronunciation, and that "Chuchi" is the common familiar form.

Some nicknames are a mystery. "Chivia" for instance, meaning "bone of a cuttle-fish" and having, in this case at least, no oppositeness whatsoever. But "Chivia" is an extremely nice little boy. Would you like to adopt him into your home? We have not yet placed him.

He is ten, fair, rosy cheeked, good natured, has blue-grey eyes, an irresistible droll humour. He looks extraordinarily like an attractive little English boy. You would like having him.

This series is a weekly reminder of the Basque Children who are our proteges at Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex. All gifts in kind should be sent there.

Donations, in cash or by cheque, should be sent to the Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. They will be most gratefully acknowledged.

Good Week for Our "Fighting Fund"

THIS week's contributions to the *Peace News Fighting Fund* have totalled the highest for seven weeks and we are glad to acknowledge them here:

	£	s.	d.
Previously acknowledged	126	16	4½
S. Johnson	0	2	0
Anon., Glasgow	1	3	4
C. M. Renton, London	2	2	0
G. Hart, Canes	1	0	0
F. W. Swallow, Maidenhead	0	5	0
Miss P. L. Mead, Rayleigh	0	1	0
E. G. Walthew, Balsall Heath	0	4	0
"F"	0	2	0
N. Bingham	0	9	6
F. Hue	0	1	0
M. S. A.	1	0	0
	£133	6	2½

The Fighting Fund was launched to help to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's work the subsidy at present paid to *Peace News*. (This amounts to £750 for the current year.)

Donations of any size will be welcomed and acknowledged in *Peace News*. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to Peace News, Ltd.—and not the Peace Pledge Union—and should be addressed to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Meanwhile the ultimate need of the paper is a larger circulation.

It is suggested from Wales that groups in or near seaside resorts approach the Newsagent responsible for sale on the sands, asking for a "Bill show" of *Peace News* on one or more Sundays during the season. The group should provide sellers if he consents, and the Newsagent should get the profit on all sales.

Suggestion from Australia

From the Victoria Section of the Australian Peace Pledge Union we learn that there is a move afoot to get as many members as possible to write to Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, Middlesex, and to Hutchinson's Ltd., 32 to 36 Paternoster Row, London, E.C.4, urging these firms to include pacifist books in the Penguin, Pelican, and Pocket Library series. When possible they offer to purchase copies when published. If 10,000 such offers could be received it seems probable the book would be included.

The NOTICE BOARD

Items must be received by Monday.
MEETINGS

Hounslow group now meets every Wednesday, 8 p.m., in Tub Tree Café, Staines Road, Hounslow, instead of in Beacon Café, as previously.

Ilford.—Open-air meetings held every Saturday at 8.30 p.m. in corner of Wellesley Road and Cranbrook Road (near Ilford LNER station).

Finsbury Park.—Open-air meetings in the Park on Sundays at 11.30 a.m.
Cardiff.—Open-air meeting in Llandaff Fields, Cardiff, every Sunday at 8 p.m. Group meetings every Tuesday evening at 43 Charles Street.

"PEACE NEWS" SELLERS WANTED.

Volunteers wanted for selling at Charing Cross every Friday from 5 to 6.30 p.m. and Queens Hall from 6.45 to 8 p.m. Please notify Mr. Jack Reynolds, at City PPU, 13 Paternoster Row, London, E.C.4.

Birmingham.—There will be a mass street selling tomorrow (Saturday), starting from St. Jude's Schools, Hill Street, at 2.45 p.m. Tea available at 5 p.m. if desired (6d. each). Volunteers wanted. Send names to Connie M. Jones, 39 Cranbrook Road, Birmingham, 21, as soon as possible.

Orpington.—Every Saturday two members sell in Orpington High Street. Volunteers wanted. Write W. G. Howard, 11 Willett Close, Petts Wood, Kent.

Leitchworth.—Sellers wanted, Friday evenings, Saturday mornings, afternoons and evenings. Particulars from Miss Joan Edwards, 56 Norton Road.

POSTER PARADES

Deptford.—On Saturday, September 2, leaving Gardiner's Corner at 7 p.m. Any volunteers, with posters, heartily welcomed. Particulars from W. S. Grindley, 5 Brockley View, S.E.23. An open-air meeting will be held at Gardiner's Corner after the parade, at about 8.30 p.m.

MISCELLANEOUS

Cardiff district.—On Sunday (August 27), bathing ramble. Catch Barry bus at Westgate Street, 10.30 a.m. Others will join at Culverhouse Cross. Bring lunch and tea.

Edinburgh change of address.—From September 1 Edinburgh office will be 37 Chambers Street. Meetings will be held there every Thursday, 3 p.m.

What the Groups Are Doing

IN spite of the fact that only ten people supported it, the "mass selling" of *Peace News* at Charing Cross (London) last Friday proved a great success, nearly 130 copies being sold.

A few members met afterwards and, deciding they had picked a first class pitch, made plans to sell there regularly every Friday from 5 to 6.30 p.m. and then at Queens Hall (to the promenaders) from 6.45 to 8 p.m. Copies of *Peace News* will be obtainable for sellers from someone stationed outside the Strand Lyons Corner House and the front of Queens Hall respectively.

Volunteers are asked to notify Mr. Jack

Reynolds, at City PPU, 13 Paternoster Row, London, E.C.4.

Hampshire's New Leaflet

IN recent months the West Hampshire and East Hampshire and West Surrey Regions have carried out a distribution of a new type of leaflet. Designed and printed by S. E. Hales, the printer secretary of the West Hants Region, it is distributed in towns where at present there is no group of the PPU.

Following a distribution at Basingstoke there were 22 replies and an effort is now being made to co-ordinate peace society efforts in that town. Last Saturday the East Hants and West Surrey Region carried out a distribution at Petersfield and West Hants intend to do the same at Romsey at an early date.

Loughborough's Loss

THE following resolution was passed at a meeting of the Loughborough group last week: That this Loughborough Branch of the PPU wishes to place on record its deep regret at the tragic loss of its Group Leader, Eric Hedley Freeman, to whose initiative the branch owes its existence, and to express a sense of sincere gratitude for his devoted self sacrifice in the work of the branch in the cause of Peace. An appreciation of Mr. Freeman appeared in last week's *Peace News*.

Scarborough Outing

THE Scarborough group held its annual outing last Saturday, when a large number of members and friends went by motor coach to Langdale End.

Full advantage was taken of the ideal weather conditions to enjoy bathing and cricket and to explore the surrounding country, and tea was served in the open air. Regret was expressed that the President, Rev. William Wallace, was prevented by illness from joining the party.

Mansfield Meetings

AT the second meeting of the new Mansfield group Mr. Charles Baldwin, of Nottingham, spoke of the general activities of the PPU.

A third meeting was held last week, when it was decided to hold a big public meeting in Mansfield as soon as possible.

On Sunday, September 3, at 8 p.m., the Rev. T. A. Rockley will be giving a talk in St. Lawrence's Hall, Sandy Lane, Mansfield, on "The relationship between Pacifism and Christianity," and the meeting will be open to the public.

On September 17, after a shortened Evensong at St. Lawrence's Church, the congregation will go into the Church Hall, where Mr. Charles Baldwin will talk on pacifism. Members of the PPU will also regard it as a meeting for them and their friends.

Any information regarding the activities of the Mansfield group can be obtained from the secretary, Mr. Frank Ward, 7 Mill Street, Mansfield.

Sparkhill Activities

THE Sparkhill group is just preparing for its last open-air meeting of the summer, at which it is hoped to get a Midland CO to speak. At previous meetings, Ernest Fletcher, Sydney Conbeer and the Rev. Donald Rose have spoken with Mr. Oswald Henry, the Group chairman, in the chair. The final meeting will be on Sunday in Sparkhill Park at 8 p.m.

The group holds indoor meetings fortnightly on Thursdays, when there are visiting speakers or members of the group speak on their own speciality.

A discussion group meets alternate Tuesdays at the Secretary's house, 426 Stratford Road, Sparkhill, and the book *Pacifism for Today and Tomorrow* is being worked through despite irrelevant side-tracks such as "Is the Lambeth Walk, folk-dancing?"

Peace News is offered for sale every Friday evening on Stratford Road, Sparkhill (outside Woolworth's) for one hour and a half.

Welcome to Bournemouth

A PARTY of members from the Bournemouth and New Forest Region went over to Swanage recently to hear Mr. Rendall Davies address a large and interested crowd on the promenade there. A young CO gave his testimony also, and for two hours lively discussions took place.

A warm welcome is extended to any visitors to Bournemouth. A few members can always be found at the Friends' Meeting House any Monday evening at 8 p.m.

Romance in the P.P.U.

The marriage took place at the Friends' Meeting House, Pilgrim Street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, a fortnight ago, between Herbert Richardson, leader of the Newcastle Central Group, and Brenda Booth, of the Edinburgh Branch and Newcastle Central Group.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

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Dates for Your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

BERMONDSEY; 8 p.m. Corner of Beatrice Road and Southwark Park Road; R. Smith and W. J. Grindlay; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; W. H. Morris on "The Fight against Conscription"; PPU.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

CROYDON; 7.30 p.m. Katherine Street; open-air meeting; William G. Millman; PPU.

Sunday, August 27

BIRMINGHAM; 7.15 p.m. Warley Woods; open-air meeting; PPU.

BOURNEMOUTH; 8 p.m. East Cliff; open-air meeting; H. Kay Jones and Joseph Jackson; PPU.

SPARKHILL; 8 p.m. Sparkhill Park, Birmingham; open-air meeting; Rev. J. Lewis Wray, G. Ronneback and O. Henry (chairman); PPU.

Monday, August 28

BIRMINGHAM; 1 p.m. Bull Ring; open-air meetings; PPU.

BOURNEMOUTH; 7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Mrs. Elsie Goodwin will report on Bristol Tribunal and local COs will give their impressions; PPU.

Tuesday, August 29

LONDON, E.C.4; 12.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Rev. B. C. Hopson on "Why I am a Pacifist"; City PPU group.

TOWER HILL; 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; City PPU group.

TAUNTON; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Bath Place; M. R. Dodman on "I Faced the Tribunal"; PPU.

Wednesday, August 30

FALMOUTH; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Donald Bentley; PPU.

PECKHAM; 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 158 Queen's Road; Horace Fuller on "COs and Alternative Service"; PPU.

Thursday, August 31

LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Dorothy Plowman on "People: Old and New"; City PPU group.

LONDON, E.C.4; 6 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; A. Stephen Noel on "The Fight Against Poverty"; City PPU group.

Friday, September 1

BERMONDSEY; 8 p.m. Corner of Beatrice Road and Southwark Park Road; open-air meeting; Mr. Millman (Middlesex); PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Sybil Morrison on "Ourselves and Headquarters"; PPU.

Saturday, September 2

CROYDON; 7.30 p.m. Katherine Street; Open-air meeting; Rev. Pat Figgis; PPU.

Sunday, September 3

PLYMOUTH; 8.15 p.m. The Guildhall; Miss M. Gamble, Rev. Don Robins and Stuart Morris (chairman); PPU.

"It is not the duty of this generation to prepare for the next war, but to prevent it."
—Duff Cooper. 17.3.27.

What does **PPU** stand for?

I. HOW IT BEGAN

THE Peace Pledge Union dates from the day when Dick Sheppard invited all men who felt as he did to write to him stating that they renounced war and would never again participate in one.

The immediate response was overwhelming, and every day since then pledge cards have come in, the total having now reached some 126,000. At first the movement had been confined to men, but when the signatures of women were asked for there was once more an immediate response. By reason of its numerical and moral strength, this venture has become a national movement, and it is linked with the world movement by its affiliation to the War Resisters' International.

Dick Sheppard asked some leading men and women to join him as Sponsors.

Today the executive body of the Union consists of a Central Council of 20 national members, elected by the annual general meeting, together with members elected by the various areas. The present national members are: John Barclay, Harold Bing, Vera Brittain, H. Runham Brown, A. Ruth Fry, Mary Gamble, Eric Gill, Laurence Housman, Humphrey S. Moore, Stuart D. Morris, Philip S. Mumford, J. Middleton Murry, Max Plowman, Arthur Ponsonby, Charles E. Raven, Maurice L. Rowntree, Maude Royden, Alfred Salter, Donald O. Soper, Andrew Stewart, Wilfred Wellock, Alex Wood.

George Lansbury is the President of the Union.

The headquarters are at 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. The President is George Lansbury, M.P., the Treasurer is Maurice L. Rowntree, the Chairman (and secretary), Canon Stuart Morris, and the Group Organizer, John Barclay.

Give your pledge on a postcard:—
I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.
Sign this, add your address, and send the card to PPU headquarters.

WARNING FROM THE PAST

"For if you think it is a more grand, a more beneficial, or a more wise policy, to invent subtle expedients for increasing the revenue, to multiply our naval and military force, to rival in craft the ambassadors of foreign States, to form skilful treaties and alliances, than to administer an unpolluted justice to the people, to redress the injured, and to succour the distressed, and speedily to restore to everyone his own, you are involved in a cloud of error; and too late will you perceive where the illusion of those mighty benefits has vanished, in neglecting these, which you now think inferior considerations, you have only been precipitating your own ruin and despair."

—Milton, *The Second Defence of the People of England*.

Pacifism in the Old Testament

Continued from page 8

horrible death, to conceal his religion.

Let there be no compromise with evil and no recognition of the tyrant; oppose his advance with a line of men prepared to die but never to retreat! Then perhaps something unexpected will happen and the persecutor will be struck down at the height of his success, perhaps even his heart will be touched and, like Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, he will fall down and worship the God whose servants he has slain. The writing on the wall is sure, and the man who has read it knows that the victory is with God.

"BUT suppose," so I imagine someone saying to the author of Daniel in those dark days, "suppose nothing happens, the persecutor is not converted, God does not intervene—what then?"

For answer the writer turns back to one of the earlier stories in his book and reads those magnificent words:

"Our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace; and He will deliver us out of thine hand, O king. But if not—be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up."

Who could conquer such men as those?

Rough Going for Tramp Preachers

The three tramp preachers who are at present touring the East Midlands are still being met with considerable opposition. One of them, Mr. Alfred Opie, writes: "We brought a hornet's nest about our ears in two hectic meetings in Stamford. We were abused, laughed at and even hustled, but no serious harm came to us."

At Peterborough, however, there was a different atmosphere. Three meetings, all of a quieter tone, were held there. One of these meetings was possibly the highlight of the tour. The local ARP wardens had been holding a meeting close to where the tramp preachers were speaking in the open-air, and they turned out to oppose. "The Chief Warden," Mr. Opie reports, "was particularly voluble. However, we got the clap from the audience at the end."

Successful meetings have also been held at Sleaford and Oundle.

How A.R.P. Really Works

In view of the preoccupation of the West with air raid precautions, it is interesting to note the effect of ARP in wartime as experienced in China.

The Rev. Geoffrey F. Allen, one of the contributors to *Christians in Action* (Longmans, Green & Co.), writes from Canton: "The first fears were made far more severe by excessive anti-aircraft measures."

"At the beginning during the raids all traffic was stopped, and people were urged to go into cellars or dug-outs. For ten days we had raids night and day, and people were huddled together in the dark underground. The result was that they lost their sleep, and infected each other with nervousness in the dark."

"We reached a state where peoples would scarcely talk above a whisper, for fear a Japanese pilot might hear them! The slightest gain in safety was more than off-set by the loss of morale in psychological tension and strain."

"Unless shrapnel or bits of burst shells are actually falling, you are very little more safe in a dug-out; in mind and spirit you are far more at ease if you can stand and see in what direction the 'planes are travelling'."

Too Bad?

It is in many respects regrettable that he did not embrace the Army as a career—he had served in the Great War—since he possessed a number of qualities likely to have enabled him to reach a very high position in that profession. He was a simple, rough and ready—not to say blunt—individual, with an outlook on life very similar to that which one could associate with a small boy of ten or twelve, whose parents were mentally defective.

—Frederick Keeling, the murderer, from *Some Cases of Sir Bernard Spilsbury and Others. Death under the Microscope*, by Dr. Harold Dearden.

The Real Menace

"The real menace to European peace is the fact that out of 27 million people in Poland, 9 million are there by force of arms—Russians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians and Germans—most of them there in spite of the protests of the League of Nations and of the Supreme Council."

—Lloyd George. 24/3/25.

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DELICIOUS LINCOLNSHIRE PLUM BREAD made in the heart of Lincolnshire by F. H. Townley, Confectioner, Horncastle. One for 1s. 4d., two for 2s. 3d., post free.

PERSONAL

GUARANTEE to total £200 urgently needed for German Jew in Berlin without means. £70 already given. Could friends or groups join?—Walker, "Green Pastures," Gomshall, Surrey.

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PACIFIST PRINTER.—Leaflets, handbills, stationery, cards, and other simple matter.—W. J. Bridgen, 232, Sellincourt Road, London, S.W.17.

SITUATIONS

WANTED

GERMAN JEW (18) requires post in England. Clerk-bookkeeper by profession.—Apply *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

YOUNG MAN requires work to finance musical studies. Inter. B.Sc. Further particulars.—Armstrong, 23, Crookston Road, S.E.9.

WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS Vegetarian Food Reform Guest House. Alt. 600 ft. For happy holiday or restful recuperation. Increased accommodation. Central heating throughout; h. and c. water in all bedrooms. Central for conferences.—A. & K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, near Matlock. Telephone Ambergate 44. Station, Ambergate (L.M.S.)

Duff Cooper Debunked "Defence"

"EVERY nation that has ever gone to war has thought that it is fighting a defensive war. I am prepared to say that it is impossible, looking back on the wars of the past, to decide what countries were aggressors and what were not. Take the last war. At the time when it broke out we in this country were convinced that we were fighting a war of defence and that the Germans were the aggressors. The Germans were equally convinced that they were not the aggressors. The neutral Powers of Europe had very considerable doubts, and even all the people of this country were not convinced that we were fighting a defensive war."

—Duff Cooper, 24.3.25.

Quaker Peace Camp

Thirteen open-air meetings were held during the first fortnight in this month, organized by Quaker Peace campers at Elmsett, Suffolk. Audiences varied from small village groups standing in doorways or peeping out of windows to larger crowds in towns, of which the largest was in Ipswich.

Peace News and about 100 copies of the *Peace Service Handbook* were sold and literature was distributed.

The camp site was a field belonging to the Elmsett Pacifist Community, the members of which did valuable preliminary work and helped with the meetings. The campers had hoped to be able to join the community in their work on the land, but shortage of numbers and time reduced this hope to the hoeing of a few rows of sugar beet and vegetables.

Setting an Example

"There was a formidable disregard of crisis scares at Le Touquet over the week-end."

"The English ruling classes had assembled in hundreds, even thousands, to risk their wealth throughout the night in the Turkish bath atmosphere of the Casino."

"The balloon barrage and the Territorials were well represented. Women gambled as highly as men."

—From the Londoner's Diary in the *Evening Standard* on Monday.

White Man's Burden?

In South Africa there are approximately 2,000,000 Whites and 6,000,000 Natives. This is how they are employed:

Natives	..	..	..	44%
Whites	..	..	..	42%
Coloureds	..	..	..	10%
Asiatics	..	..	..	4%

And these are the respective average annual wages:

Whites	£214
Coloureds	£80
Asiatics	£71
Natives	£40

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AS I SEE IT ALL

By the Plain Man

NO-ONE can tell at the time I write what may have happened at Danzig by the time this appears in print.

This week events have begun to speed up. Suddenly we find ourselves back where we were last September—but with a difference.

Hitler, out to get more territory for the Reich, now finds himself faced with a so-called Peace Front and a British promise to aid Poland. So, although in some ways Danzig reminds us of Czechoslovakia, in another sense it calls to mind 1914.

For at that time there were alliances and counter-alliances. And a spark in the Balkans set fire to the European powder-magazine. (Of course, they didn't call such alliances Peace Fronts in those days).

AS last year, Hitler is the man they blame. "If Hitler once again insists on having his own way," said one paper on Monday, "war is inescapable."

I've heard that sort of thing before. Listen to Mr. J. L. Garvin in *The Observer*, on September 11, 1938:

"Any diplomatic attempt to break up Czecho-Slovakia by surrendering the Sudeten lands to the Reich—lands which on three sides are the strategic keys of the whole—would mean world-war as surely as the launching of armies."

But it happened—without war.

I recall that parallel for no other reason than to assure you that things need not be as black as they are painted.

The old game of bluff and counter-bluff is on; in that game the press has its part to play.

SO I advocate giving Danzig to Germany just because Hitler want it, do I? Not necessarily. But I do say this: if by refusing to deal with the root of the problem, we are brought right up against an immediate issue of this kind, this nation should first insist that a fair hearing be given to both sides.

We shouldn't refuse to listen to the German case just because Hitler makes it, and because we loathe many aspects of his regime. And we shouldn't paint one side black and the other white.

Most nations have some murky pages in their history, and the Poles can't claim a clean sheet for the last twenty years—where treatment of minorities is concerned, for instance.

Secondly, no politician has the right to say that if the dispute isn't settled in accordance with his wishes, he will go to war. He hasn't the right to say that, even if he thinks the other side are bluffing when they say they will go to war to get what they want.

If the bluff is called, the ordinary people may have to pay the price of their politicians' gambles.

And if that price is ever paid, in human blood and misery, shall we have settled the problem of Danzig, of the Corridor, of the spread of Fascism? Not on your life.

Another war would leave us with the breeding grounds of still more problems. Just as the Danzig dispute goes back to the Treaty of Versailles drawn up in 1919.

WHAT, then, is the solution? The only lasting solution is the ending of the whole system whereby nations—and individuals within the nation—fight for existence as though this world were a jungle.

Today we have the means to give every person in the world a decent standard of living.

Our rulers' real job is to turn that possibility into a fact. Goodness knows there's enough poverty and starvation in Europe and in the colonies to keep them busy for years.

Danzig, after all, is just one incident in a world-wide policy of grab-what-you-can. All the big nations follow that policy; some are still grabbing, others are doing their best to sit tight on what they've got in the past.

By stopping Hitler from getting Danzig—even if Germany happens to have a good claim to that city—you don't end that wrong-headed policy at all. Nor do you end it by giving it to him.

It's sounds strange, I know, but it's true. You see, the real problem isn't Danzig at all. The real trouble is how we're going to replace empire-building and empire-holding by a system under which the ordinary people in this world get a fair share of the world's goods.

The politicians ignore that problem. Well, we must wake up. We can start to do that by refusing to support their wars. Then they'll have to stop using us as pawns in their games of bluff about Danzig or any other place.

From the
Daily Express
21. 8. 39

PIRATE STATION BROADCASTS

"DON'T FIGHT"

Daily Express Staff Reporter

AN unlicensed radio station broadcasting from North London last night urged listeners to refuse to take part in any war for Britain.

The station was a secret room of a top-floor flat, the apparatus a few yards of aerial in the bedroom and garden, and the component parts on the floor. The organisers were members of the Peace Pledge Union. Their wave-length was 48.5 metres.

The broadcast lasted an hour. The organiser said it will be repeated every Sunday from different addresses.

One of the organisers said: "Our object in these broadcasts is to urge all young people in Britain to take no part in war, whether by refusing to become conscripts or by refusing to join the Army or other services."

The chief speaker was a twenty-eight-year-old university man.

THE above is but one of several press reports which have appeared this week concerning the pacifist "pirate" radio station, whose activities were described in "Peace News" three weeks ago.

If later reports are to be believed, Post Office engineers, armed with direction-finders, are trying to locate the station.

Inquiries at PPU headquarters have been met with the statement that the secret broadcasters may be PPU members, but that since it is not known who they are, this can neither be confirmed nor denied.

Certainly the PPU itself has no connexion with the "pirates."

This was said

TEN MONTHS AGO . . .

WE are turning away from the old system of power politics. We are going to do what ought to have been done long ago; try to remove the causes of grievances and the feelings of injustice that may still remain, and substitute peaceable and friendly feelings between ourselves and the great German and Italian nations for the acrimonious bickering and friction which the Opposition desire to perpetuate.

People should not be upset when they hear of Germany trying to increase her trade in South-East Europe. I would much prefer to see the Germans interested in butter instead of guns. I would help them to get butter, if they would put their guns away. It is poverty and economic distress that breeds dictators—not trade and commerce and the prosperity that follows. You cannot point to a single poor democracy or a single opulent dictatorship. Dictatorship is like a weed: it flourishes in poor soil; cultivate the soil, enrich it, and dictatorship disappears.

—Mr. H. RAMSBOTHAM, M.P.
Minister of Pensions—October 29, 1938.

Quakers on A.R.P. in Schools

The Manchester Friends' Peace Committee have expressed concern at the introduction of ARP into Schools.

"We believe," they say, "that any form of air raid drill in schools will have harmful psychological effects. Children have logical minds and will desire to know why they are having such drill. However they are answered, one of three bad impressions will be made. Either the children will believe that 'foreigners' are people who bomb school children; or they will attend school in constant fear of and read air raids, a state of mental insecurity in which real education is impossible; or they will grow up to believe that war, provided we are well trained in running to shelter, is a perfectly natural and tolerable part of human life. None of these effects on the nation's youth is desirable."

Refugees from Germany

Of the 208 British visas obtained during July by the Germany Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends, for German refugees (representing 285 individuals), 109 visas were for people who had emigration plans in hand; 37 were trainee permits for boys and men, mostly agricultural; 10 for girl trainees, domestic work, nursing, &c., and 15 were for refugees to take up employment.

The cases, with the exception of some of the employment cases and girl trainees were, of course, fully guaranteed, and among the guarantee cases were 28 indefinite guarantees, mainly for old people who will stay here for the rest of their lives.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another
Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Please hand this to your
Newsagent

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to me weekly.

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Note to Newsagent:—

"PEACE NEWS" is published weekly as a National Newspaper at the retail price of 2d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

CUT OUT FOR RETURNS
No. 167 25.8.39

How C.O.s Fared at Bristol

FOLLOWING is a list of applicants in whose cases decisions were reached by the Bristol Tribunal for conscientious objectors at its sessions last week. A report on the work of the Tribunal appears on page 7.

The following were placed on the Register of Conscientious Objectors unconditionally:

D. J. MORRISON, mechanic, Bristol.
R. A. PEARMAN, cabinet maker apprentice, Gloucester.

F. G. J. PACKER, engineer apprentice, Swindon.

R. H. HARPUR, farm worker, Hayle.

P. D. HEYWOOD, factory worker, Crediton.

D. I. HAYWARD, upholsterer, Eastington, near Stonehouse.

K. G. CREEI, clerk, Bristol.

F. G. HART, market gardener, Hambrook.

W. D. EVANS, wood machinist, Bristol.

I. C. EVANS, butchers assistant, Bristol.

D. BOUNDEN, unemployed, Penzance.

R. C. WILLOUGHBY-ROWE, fertilising company, Newton Abbot.

D. C. HART, woodwork apprentice, Totnes.

R. H. J. THOMMES, shop assistant, Winton.

J. B. EYERS, Bristol.

E. E. LAMBERT, brewers assistant, Shepton Mallet.

N. E. J. MARTIN, salesman, Gloucester.

D. W. MASON, entering Methodist College, Plymouth.

W. F. W. MARTIN, architect student, Bournemouth.

E. B. KNOWLING, jobbing gardener, Yelverton.

E. B. LOVERIDGE, grocer's assistant, Southampton.

A. W. KNIGHT, clerk, Bournemouth.

W. C. METHERILL, farming, Polyhill, near Bude.

G. M. MITCHELL, Falmouth.

R. J. PALMER, carpenter, Poole.

R. K. MOON, lithograph artist, Bristol.

D. C. MANNING, clerk, Bristol.

W. T. HURCOMBE, fitter, Bristol.

D. H. HILLIER, plumber, Bristol.

R. W. HOBBS, engineer, Bristol.

C. G. HOWELL, clerk, Bristol.

P. N. MORRELL, draughtsman, Swindon.

H. O. PHILLIPSON, Brockworth, Glos.

A. H. K. LANE, clerk, Meles, nr. Frome.

W. D. PITWOOD, unemployed labourer.

A. F. NAGLE, clerk.

H. B. J. NELSON, actor.

L. G. O'NEILL, student.

C. A. PLUMB, carpenter.

E. MORGAN FLETCHER, clerk, Bristol.

W. H. REID, confectioner, Bristol.

D. A. JARVIS, clerk, Grimsby, Banbury.

The following were placed on the Register of Conscientious Objectors on condition that they

remained in their present or similar employment for the next 12 months:

W. D. WORTH, fireman, Bristol.

R. F. W. OGBORNE, plumber, Bristol.

Bristol.

A. E. WEBB, fitter, Compton Dando, near Tickenham, near Bristol.

M. R. WATERFALL, engineering apprentice, Tickenham, near Bristol.

P. PARRY, miner, Creford.

M. R. WALKER, engineer, Basingstoke.

D. J. HELLIER, chemist, Exeter.

I. G. HUSSEY, lorry driver, Shaftsbury.

V. G. C. JOSEPH, gas fitter, Bournemouth.

C. F. ELLIS, clerk, Bournemouth.

C. E. H. RYEMILL, electrician, Bristol.

R. J. POCOCK, farm helper, Calne.

R. G. PREECE, baker, Bristol.

G. E. MAY, wood cutter, Stockbridge, Hants.

H. A. HALL, clerk, Bristol.

L. W. LUDLOW, engineer, Swindon.

R. D. PADFIELD, clerk, Bristol.

V. PENNY, gent's outfitter, Bath.

C. MORRIS, chef's assistant, Dudley Chine, Bournemouth.

J. W. READ, architect's assistant, Southampton.

K. E. CURTIS, clerk, Stonehouse, Glos.

M. G. CURTIS, farmworker, Salisbury.

R. M. COOMBS, Fordingbridge.

E. R. SMITH, Eastleigh, Hants.

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